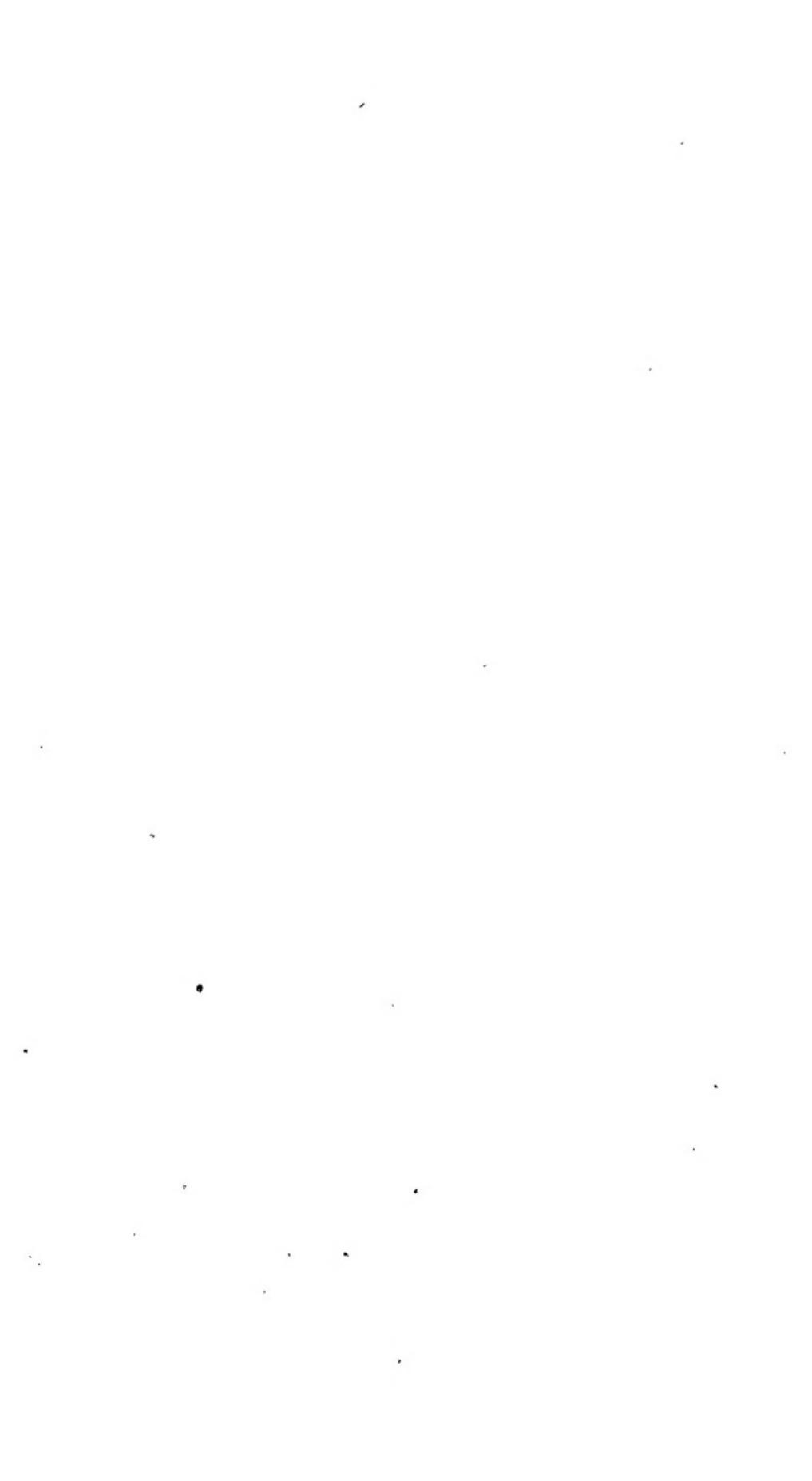


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PROVERBS OF THE PAINTER

BY C. SIVARAMAMURTHY, B.A. (HONS.)

PROVERBS, sayings and maxims number profusely in the literature of any land on the globe for the very simple reason that the inherent natural tendency of man has been to utter short witty epigrammatical phrases. Sanskrit has yielded in India a crop of popular maxims so rich and resourceful, so witty and thought-provoking, that they demand, nay, compel the attention of savants of Sanskrit learning towards them as their legitimate due. Sanskrit literature, especially the Śāstraic part of it, abounds in this variety of expression. Attempts at a codification of these scattered over numerous pages of different books have resulted in such works as the *Laukikanyāyasaṃgraha* of Raghunātha Varma Udāsina and the *Laukikanyāyāñjali* of Colonel Jacob, both individual works on the subject differing from the shorter compilations found in dictionaries like the *Vācaspatyam*.

There are, among these, maxims which deal with various aspects and activities of the world at large, being drawn freely from popular anecdotes, beliefs, customs and habits, many

that deal specially with, and are based on, the activity of the *Śilpin*, *i.e.*, artist, *citrakāra* or *rūpakāra*. Though some of these have been incorporated in the books above mentioned, they have lost their individuality in a big mass of numerous other maxims dealing with entirely different subjects, and some more of their class that I came across during the course of my study, invite me to put them all together as popular notions on a particular art; and that explains this short note.

1. आलेख्यप्रदीपन्यायः

This is to illustrate the incapacitated state of a thing which is for all practical purposes the same as a representation of it in a picture void of its characteristics and actions. The figure of a lamp in a picture lacks the flicker of the flame as well as its lustre. It is merely stolid. *Pravarasena* gives it in his verse in the *Setubandha*:

अथ कर्णिनं जडीभावमाह—

तो ताण हृष्णच्छाअं णिच्चल्लोभणसिहं पउत्थपआवम् ।

आलेख्यप्रदीपवाण वणिअअं पइहच्छुलत्तर्णं पि विअलिअम् ॥ (II. 45.)

[तत्सेषां हृतच्छायं निश्चललोचनशिखं प्रोपितप्रतापम् ।

आलेख्यप्रदीपानामिव निजकं प्रकृतिचटुलत्वमपि विगलितम् ॥]

Kālidāsa has a verse to the same effect in the *Raghuvamśa*:

अरिष्टशश्यां परितो विसारिणा सुजन्मनस्तस्य निजेन तेजसा ।

निशीथदीपाः सहसा हृतिविषो बभूवुरालेख्यसमर्पिता इव ॥ (III. 15.)

Āsvaghoṣa has a line on this in his *Saundarananda*:

यस्योद्धवे न धृतिरस्ति न शान्तिरस्ति

चित्रप्रदीप इव सोऽस्ति न चास्ति चैव ॥ (VII. 48.)

2. आलेख्ययक्षन्यायः

A thing that has mere beauty of form but no practical utility is explained by this maxim. The *Yakṣa* in a picture is quite beautiful but does not serve the purpose of a real *Yakṣa*. The *Pādādatitaka* gives it in this verse

यो गुग्गुलं पिवति मेदसि संप्रवृद्धे तस्य क्षयं व्रजति चच्छ्यचिरेण मेदः ।

स्त्रीणां भवत्यथ स यौवनशालिनीनामालेख्ययक्ष इव दर्शनमात्ररम्यः ॥

3. आलेख्यशाखिफलन्यायः:

This is to explain the futility of a thing. A certain action is as impossible of accomplishment as the enjoyment of the fruit of a tree painted on a canvas. We have it in the verse in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa :

उत्सवे दैन्यविज्ञसौ रञ्जने कार्यसाधने ।

आलेख्यलीनशाखीव न स लभ्यफलोऽभवत् ॥

(Vol. II, *Taraṅga* VIII, 69.)

4. उन्मीलितचित्रन्यायः:

This is to show the revivification of a thing, the infusing of life into it, which appeared so far inert and dead for all practical purposes. The illustration given is the painter giving the final touches to the figure in a picture which had lain practically lifeless all the while and making it alive and full of life. Kālidāsa mentions it in the verse of the *Kumārasambhava* :

उन्मीलितं तूलिकयेव चित्रं सूर्याशुभिर्भिन्नमिवारविन्दम् ।

वभूव तस्याश्चतुरस्त्रोमि वपुर्विभक्तं नवथौवनेन ॥ (I. 32.)

Bāṇa conveys the same idea in the line in his *Kādambarī* :

प्रातश्च तदुन्मीलितं चित्रमिव चन्द्रापीडशरीरमवलोकय । (p. 548.)

and Mayūra graphically describes it in a verse of his *Sūryaśataka* :

ज्योत्स्नांशाकर्षपाण्डुयुतितिर्मरमषीषेषकलमाषमीष-

जृम्भोद्भूतेन पिङ्गं सरसिजरजसा संध्यया शोणशोचिः ।

प्रातः प्रारम्भकाले सकलमपि जगच्चित्रमुन्मीलयन्ती

कान्तिस्तीक्ष्णतिषोऽक्षणां सुदमुपनयतातूलिकेवातुलां वः ॥ (26.)

(Com. उन्मीलयन्ती प्रकटयन्ती.)

The idea is also suggested in the verse of Haricandra's *Dharmaśarmābhuyudaya*:

अहो समुन्मीलति धातुरेषा शिल्पक्रियायाः परिणामरेखा ।

जगद्दूयं मन्मथैवजयन्त्या यथा जयत्येष मनुष्यलोकः ॥ (XVII. 18.)

and in that of the *Neminirvāṇa* of Vāgbhaṭa :

रेजे दलच्चम्पकचारुभासां यत्राङ्गनानां तनुरोमराजिः ।

शलाकयोन्मीलयतो विधातुर्मुखाच्छ्युतेवाज्जनवारिरेखा ॥ (I. 49.)

We have it also in the verse of the *Rāmacarita* of Abhinanda :

कैः शिक्षिता वर्तयितुं तदासीदुन्मीलितं तूलिकेयवं चित्रम् ।
तरङ्गवत्तुङ्गशरद्धनालीविसंस्थुले व्योमनि बालसन्ध्या ॥ (I. 73.)

wherein two special features in painting, Unmilana and Vartana, are specifically stated. But the most explanatory reference is in the verse of the *Haravijaya* of Rājānaka Ratnākara :

यस्याभियाति भवनेष्वसमाप्तचित्र-
संभारभित्तिपुरुषा मलिनोभवन्तः ।
उन्मीलनावसरशून्यहशः समिद्धां
दध्युर्दिवानिशमिव श्रियमव्यवस्थाम् ॥ (XVI. 65.)

The commentary on it by Rājānaka Alaka explains the term lucidly in the line यस्यारिवेइमस्वर्धसम्पन्नाश्चित्रपुरुषा दृष्ट्युन्मीलनाभावादस्थिरां लक्ष्मीमाचिन्तयन्.

Introducing many points of citra in a verse, Ratnākara again speaks of citronmilana in the verse :

सभूमिलाभं शुभवर्तिरेखया मनोरमं मण्डलकार्यमस्खलत् ।
अशेषमुन्मीलयति क्षमासृतां विचित्ररूपा ननु नीतितूलिका ॥ (XII. 30.)

Mr. K. A. Subrahmanya Aiyer gives a quotation from the *Mahārthamañjari* where Maheśvarānanda uses this Nyāya in describing Sadāśiva and Īśvara* :

अहन्तेदन्तालक्षणयोर्ज्ञानक्रियारायोद्रेकात् उन्मीलितचित्रन्यायेन व्यक्ताव्यक्त-
विश्वमातृताख्यभावं सदाशिवाख्यं तत्त्वम् । एतद्विपर्ययेण क्रियाशक्तयौज्ज्वल्ये व्यक्ता-
कारविश्वानुसंधातृरूपम् ईश्वरतत्त्वमिर्ता । (p. 44.)

Though he supposes the उन्मीलित picture as such to be व्यक्ताव्यक्त, it is difficult to see how it could be so, since Kālidasa appears to leave us no room for the supposition in his verse by the use of such phrases as सूर्याशुभिर्भिन्नमिवारविन्दम् and वपुर्विभक्तम्; further we have the traditional custom of कண्ठं त्रिपंपत्तु (opening of the eyes) of the image as the last work of the painter and the image-maker, which done, the picture or

* *Vide J. O. R. M.*, Vol. VI, Part IV, p. 345.

image looks finished. But the citing of the उन्मीलितचित्रन्याय for explaining the व्यक्ताव्यक्त state of Sadāśivatattva made me wonder. It may be, I thought, that the Sadāśivatattva is not so pronounced or marked as the Īśvaratattva for want of क्रियाशक्तयौज्ज्वल्य; but its being व्यक्ताव्यक्त according to the उन्मीलितचित्रन्याय puzzled me. And my professor Mahāmahopādhyāya S. Kuppuswami Sastriar has enlightened me by suggesting an excellent solution to get over this difficulty of explanation which apart from solving the problem, reveals the marvellous genius of Kālidāsa who uses the right word in the right place most significantly. The word used is not चित्रोन्मीलन but उन्मीलितचित्र. The निष्ठाप्रत्यय is very significant here. According to the sūtra of Pāṇini आदिकर्मणि कः कर्त्तरि च (3-4-71) we have the क्तप्रत्यय used in the active, passive and impersonal senses when denoting just the very first moment after an act is completed. Taking this into account if we see the उन्मीलितचित्र it is व्यक्त 'finished and manifest' in the sense that the artist has done his work—given his last brush-stroke and at the same time अव्यक्त 'unfinished or unmanifest' in the sense that it is आदिकर्मणि विभक्तम् and incapable of creating an impression of 'finish' in the spectator's mind, lacking the required minimum of interval to produce an impression, being akin to the Naiyāyika's उत्पन्नघट which is characterised as क्षणमगुणं तिष्ठति. The use of the Niṣṭhā कः throughout in Kālidāsa's verse in the passive sense उन्मीलितम्, भिन्नम् and विभक्तम् as also the use of नव in opposition to यौवन is telling. It is not यौवन of some duration that is spoken of but the आदिकर्मण of यौवनारम्भ the newly dawned youth, नवयौवन. It is just in this sense that the first moment of the उन्मीलितचित्र is to be understood as व्यक्ताव्यक्त. Otherwise all उन्मीलितचित्रs are from the next moment onwards fully completed and full of life.

5. कुड्यं विना चित्रकर्मन्यायः

This is to illustrate the absurdity of a thing and the example given is the painter trying to paint a picture

without a proper ground—wall, canvas, etc. We have it stated in the lamentation of Rāksasa in the *Mudrārākṣasa*:

वृष्णीनामिव नीतिविकमगुणव्यापारशान्तद्विषां

नन्दानां विपुले कुलेऽकरुणया नीते नियत्या क्षयम् ।

चिन्तावेशासमाकुलेन मनसा रात्रिदिवं जाग्रतः

सैवेयं मम चित्रकर्मरचना भित्ति विना वर्तते ॥ (Act II, sl. 3.)

Kalhaṇa gives it in the following verses of the *Rājataranginī*:

अभित्तिलिखितालेख्यकल्पं बलहरस्य तत् ।

ताद्विग्विलोक्य सामर्थ्यमथ राजश्व सर्वतः ॥ (Vol. II, VIII, 2794.)

अपि त्वया नजं तेजो भित्तिभूतं न हारितम् ।

तस्मिन् हि सति सिद्धयन्ति सहसा लेख्यकल्पनाः ॥ (IV. 565.)

The *Vikramāñkadevacarita* of Bilhaṇa has a verse with this import:

पयोद यासां भवतोऽपि दर्शनान्न वल्लभः संघटते मृगीदशाम् ।

न ताः किञ्चन्ते गणनासु दुर्भगाः करोति कथित्रमजातभित्तिषु ॥ (XIII. 74.)

This very idea is repeated in the verse of Hariharopādhyāya's *Bhartṛhariṇirveda*:

चित्रं चित्रमरङ्गवर्तिकमिदं निर्भित्तिकं शिल्पनः

संकल्पस्य विकल्पनैर्विरचितं चिद्व्योमपद्मे जगत् ।

दीर्घस्वप्नमिदं वदन्ति सुधियः केऽपीन्द्रजालं पुनः

प्रोचुः केचिदथान्तरिक्षनगरीमेवापरे भेनिरो ॥ (Act V, 29.)

The line of Hemacandra further vivifies the ludicrousness of painting in the air:

भित्तौ हि चित्ररचना चतुरस्यापि जृम्भते । (*Sthavirāvalīcarita*, II, 483.)

Even the cleverest painter cannot paint in the air; he requires a ground for working on it.

This idea is given by Kṣemendra in a verse of his *Avadānakalpalatā*:

लोके यदालोकनलाभलोभात् संरक्षयते चक्षुरिति प्रयत्नात् ।

रूपं तदेतत्तरलेन्द्रजालस्वप्नावलीमित्रमभित्तिचित्रम् ॥

(Chap. LIX, 97, Vol. II, p. 213.)

There is a verse in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* to the same purpose:

तच्छ्रुत्वा तत्र तेऽभूवन् वणिजोऽन्ये सविस्मयाः ।

धीर्ण चित्रीयते कस्मादभित्तौ चित्रकर्मणा ॥ (Lambaka I, Tarāṅga VI, 50.)

Colonel Jacob gives the following examples under this nyāya (see p. 22, Part II and p. 131, Part III of लौकिकन्यायाभाग्नि)—

“ प्रसङ्गसाधनं नाम नास्त्वेव परमार्थतः ।

तद्दि कुञ्जं विना तत्र चित्रकर्मेव लक्ष्यते ॥ (*Nyāyamīmāṃśa*, p. 103.)

चित्रं स्यादाश्रयमृते स्थाप्णादिभ्यो विना यथा छाया ।

तद्वद्विना विशेषैर्न तिष्ठति निराश्रयं लिङ्गम् ॥ (*Sāṅkhyakārikā*, 41.)

यद्यात्मना विना देहेऽहमिति प्रलयस्तदा मृतदेहेऽहमिति प्रलयः स्यात् । न चैवम् । यथाऽलोकेन विना न छाया, भित्ति विना न चित्रं तथात्रापि ॥

(Aniruddha's comment on *Sāṅkhyasūtra*, III, 12.).

सति कुञ्जे चित्रकर्म and अभित्तिकचित्रकर्मवाच्चिराश्रयधर्मविधानायोगात् ।

(Mallinātha on *Tarkikarakṣā*, pp. 111 and 176.)

बलभद्राभिधानमाभित्तिचित्रायितम् ।

[Com. on *Nyāyasiddhāntadīpa*, p. 30, line 7 (Pandit for July 1903)]

Vernacular proverbs of the same like గోదచుండే చిత్రము ఉండువచ్చును (ఆంధ్రాలోకా క్రిష్ణాపురిక, 1007) are based on this. It is a very common household proverb and occurs very often in general conversation. Being uppermost in the minds of people it serves very often the purpose of exemplification. It is thus that we find it used by Sāyaṇācārya in his introduction to *Kṛṣṇayajurveda Taittiriya Samhitā* wherein importance is given to the Yajurveda which is compared to the bhitti while the Sāmañveda and the R̄gveda are declared to be of secondary importance like the citra.

ऋగ्वेदसामवेदयोरादौ दर्शपूर्णमासेष्टिरनाम्रातेति चद्वाढम् । यजुर्वेदमेष्ट्य दर्शपूर्णमासयोरादित्वमुक्तं, कर्मकाण्डविषये यजुर्वेदस्यैव प्राधान्यात् । आनुपूर्वात्कर्मणां स्वरूपं यजुर्वेदे समाम्रातम् । तत्र तत्र विशेषायेक्षायामपेक्षिता याज्यानुवाक्यादय ऋग्वेदे समाम्रायन्ते । स्तोत्रादीनि तु सामवेदे । तथा सति भित्तिस्थानीयो यजुर्वेद-चित्रस्थानीयावितरौ । तस्मात्कर्मसु यजुर्वेदस्यैव प्राधान्यम् । तस्मिंश्च दर्शपूर्णमासेष्टिरादौ समाम्राता । यद्यपि मन्त्रब्राह्मणात्मको वेदस्तथापि ब्राह्मणस्य मन्त्रव्याख्यानरूपत्वान्मन्त्राएवादौ समाम्राताः । ते च त्रिविधाः, ऋचः सामानि यजूर्षिपि चेति । तत्र यजुषामध्वर्युवेदे बहुलत्वात्कचिहृचां सद्भावेष्टि यजुर्वेद इत्येवाख्यायते । अध्वर्युवेदत्वं चास्यानादिसिद्ध्याज्ञिकसमाख्ययाऽवगन्तव्यम् । अस्मिन्वेदे समाम्राताः दर्शपूर्णमासेष्टिमन्त्रास्त्रिविधा आध्वर्यवा याजमाना हौत्रावेति । “इषे त्वा” इत्यादौ प्रपाठके पठिता

आध्वर्यवाः । “सं त्वा सिद्धामि” इत्यादौ पठिता याजमानाः । “सत्यं प्रपदे” इत्यादौ पठिता हौत्राः । एतेषां मध्ये याजमानानां हौत्राणां च चित्रस्थानीयत्वाद्वित्तिस्थानीयानामिवाध्वर्यवाणमादौ पाठो युक्तः ॥

The very popular nature of this saying easily accounts for the numerous references to it in literature.

6. चित्रकरतूलिकान्यायः

This is to illustrate the wide scope and the large field that a thing covers. For a Bhrānta, a lover and people of that sort images of the person or thing they dread or love appear everywhere on all sides. There is no restriction. This is likened to the unrestricted scope of the artist's brush that plies fresh on every wall. Govardhanācārya has an Āryā on this in his *Āryāsaptaśatī*:

नानावर्णकरूपं प्रकल्पयन्ती मनोहरं तन्वी ।
चित्रकरतूलिकेव त्वां सा प्रतिभित्ति भावयति ॥ (345)

7. चित्रकुसुमन्यायः

This is to illustrate the useless nature of a thing. A flower in a picture is void of fragrance and is useless for all practical purposes. Bāna mentions this in his *Harsacarita*:

दर्शनीयस्याप्यालेख्यकुसुमस्येव निष्कलजन्मनः (p. 23)

8. चित्रतुरगन्यायः

This is to show that an idea of the thing is suggested to us by a look at its form in a picture.

नाप्ययमेव राम इति, न चाप्ययं न सुखीति, नापि रामः स्याद्वा न वायमिति, न चापि तत्सद्वश इति । किंतुं सम्यङ्गमिथ्यासंशयसादश्यप्रतीतिभ्यो विलक्षणा चित्रतुरगादिन्यायेन यः सुखो रामः, असावयमिति प्रतीतिरस्तीति ।

(Com. on *Nātyasāstra* by Abhinavagupta, Vol. I, Gaek. O. S., p. 275.)

राम एवायमयमेव राम इति, न रामोऽयमित्यौत्तरकालिके बाघे रामोऽयमिति, रामः स्याद्वा न वायमिति, रामसद्वशोऽयमिति च सम्यङ्गमिथ्यासंशयसादश्यप्रतीतिभ्यो विलक्षणया चित्रतुरगादिन्यायेन रामोयमिति प्रतिपत्त्या ग्राह्ये नटे, etc.

(Kāvyaaprakāsa, Ānandāśrama Series, IV, p. 93.)

9. चित्रधनुन्यायः

This is to illustrate the useless nature of any object and the example given is the picture of a bow that can never

serve the purpose of a Bowman. Bāṇa gives it in the line of the *Harṣacarita*:

चित्रधनुषं इवालोकगुणाध्यरोपणैकक्रियानित्यनम्रस्य निर्वाणतेजसः । p. 223.

10. चित्रपटन्यायः

This *nyāya* is introduced by the Advaitins to explain the oneness of Paramātman, the Supreme Brahman, and the apparently different world around teeming with differences of various types. Just as different figures in a picture like the king, the noblemen, peasants, animals, trees, etc., though viewed and understood as high and low,—animate and inanimate, only in a conventional sense, they being after all mere patches of colour, the green or brown of a tree being in no way different from the green and brown of a parrot or a lion, and all of them being absolutely one with the canvas—so also the different beings and things that display an apparent difference and individuality in this world can in no way be divorced from the Brahman in whom they ‘live and move and have their being’ being part and parcel of Him. The great Vidyāraṇya has a separate chapter in his *Pañcadaśi* called “*Citradipaprakaraṇa*” to discuss this question. The illustration of the *Citrapaṭa* is explained in many verses of this chapter of which the following are important for our purpose:

आविर्भावयति स्वस्मिन् विलीनं सकलं जगत् ।

प्राणिकर्मवशादेष पटो यद्वत्प्रसारितः ॥ 83

पुनस्तिरोभावयति स्वात्मन्येवाखिलं जगत् ।

प्राणिकर्मक्षयवशात् संकेचितपटो यथा ॥ 84

सर्वतो लाज्जितो मध्या यथास्याद्वितिः पटः ।

सूक्ष्माकारैस्तथेशस्य वपुः सर्वत्र लाज्जितम् ॥ 2

जगच्चित्रं स्वचैतन्ये पटे चित्रमिवपितम् ।

मायथा तदुपेक्ष्यैव चैतन्यं परिशेष्यताम् ॥ 89

Apart from establishing the oneness of the Prapañca and the Paramātman the verses, while going to explain Upaniṣadic sayings like यतो वा इमानि भूतानि जायन्ते, येन जातानि जोवन्ति, यत्प्रयन्त्यभिसंविशान्ति, etc., give out the habits of the time—of rolling and

unrolling canvases, of marking or sketching out pictures on the prepared canvas, etc., thus inviting us to have a peep into the past, to see our artist-forefathers at work or engaged in exhibition or striving away their work.

The *Laukikanyāyasaṁgraha* has this short and lucid explanation of the maxim :

कथंचिदपि नानात्वानुभावे कथमद्वैतवोध इत्याकाङ्क्षायां चित्रपटन्यायावतारः ।
यथा पटे स्थितानां चित्राणां न पटातिरेकेण सत्ताऽस्ति, तथा न ब्रह्मातिरेकेण द्वैतसत्ताऽस्ति । तथा च चित्रनानात्वज्ञानेन पटैकत्वानुभवाप्रतिबन्धवत् तत्त्वविदो न प्रपञ्चनानात्वविद्या ब्रह्माद्वैतधीप्रतिबन्धः ।

11. चित्रभित्तिन्यायः:

This is to show the all-embracing capacity of a thing. The picture theme on the wall is wide enough to cover the subjects of all the three worlds—past, present and future. Bāna suggests it in his *Kādambarī* in the line दर्शितविश्वरूपैव चित्रभित्तिभिः (p. 103). Śrī Harṣa also gives out this broad scope for the painter's brush on the wall in his line in the *Naiṣadha*:

भित्तिचित्रलिखिताख्यिलक्ष्मा यत्र तस्थुरितिहाससंकथाः । (XVII.)

Dandin has a line to the same effect in his *Avantisundarikathā*:

येषां जगत्त्रयलेख्यावेचित्राश्चित्रभित्तयः ॥ (p. 1, sl. 5.)

12. “चित्रस्येष्वपि साशङ्का नोपहास्या जिगीषवः”

This is a line from the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (VIII. 853) illustrating the force of कैसुरितकन्याय. Even the pictures cannot brook an insult; how much more does the inability come with full force in the case of living and moving beings like us. The purport of it is that one should not laugh at people who suspect even pictures. This mode of bringing in pictures to say 'even the pictures' is found illustrated in many books of which the *Kāvyaprakāśa* has a beautiful verse :

हा मातस्त्वरिताऽसि कुत्र किमिदं हा देवताः काशिषो
धिक् प्राणान्पतितोऽशनिर्हृतवहस्तेऽङ्गेषु दर्शये दर्शौ ।
इत्थं धर्घरमध्यरुद्धकरुणाः पौराङ्गनानां गिर-
श्चित्रस्थानपि रोदयन्ति शतधा कुर्वन्ति भित्तीरपि ॥ (IV. sl. 39.)

13. चित्राङ्गनान्यायः:

This is to illustrate the pointless nature of a thing. A woman in a picture is merely a picture and cannot be counted as a living woman for any purpose. Bāṇa explains this in the line of his *Kādambarī*:

अलेख्यगतामिव दर्शनमात्रफलाम् (p. 23.)

The same is given as Bhittiputtalaka meaning almost the same (though here a man is meant and not a woman) by Śātavāhana in his *Gāthāsaptaśatī*:

नायकस्य दृढसौहृदार्मच्छन्ती नायिका दूरीं सदश्चान्तमाह—

तं मित्तं काथवं जं किर वसणमिम देसआलम्मि ।

आलिहिअभित्तिवउल्लब्धं व ण परम्मुहं ठाइ ॥ (III. 17.)

[तनिमत्रं कर्तव्यं यत्किल व्यसने देशकालेपु ।

आलिखितमित्तिपुत्तलकमिव न पराङ्मुखं तिष्ठति ॥]

(Com. वउल्लब्धं पुत्तलिकेति देशी ।)

Kṣemendra gives the idea in the verse of his *Avadāna-kalpalatā*:

प्रभावगुणहीनस्य पुंसश्चारुतराकृतेः ।

अलेख्यपुरुषस्येव सौन्दर्यं मित्तिरञ्जनम् ॥

(Vol. II, p. 403, Chap. LXIV, sl. 303.)

The *Laukikanyāyasamgraha* has this explanation of the maxim: यथा चित्राङ्गना दृश्यमानाऽपि न चुम्बनालिङ्गनादि फलं जनयितुं शकोति तथा प्रकृतेऽप्रीवर्थः. Colonel Jacob gives an additional quotation of Raghunātha which, he presumes, is from the *Yogavāśiṣṭha*:

चित्रामृतं नामृतेमव विद्धि चित्रानलं नानलेमव विद्धि ।

चित्राङ्गना नूनमनङ्गनेति वाचा विवेकस्त्वविवेक एव ॥

14. चित्रामृतन्यायः:

This is to illustrate the absence of utility in a particular thing. The example furnished is the picture of ambrosia which can never be tasted and enjoyed. Raghunātha enumerates it in his list of nyāyas and asks us to understand it on the basis of *Citrāṅganānyāya*.

There is a verse in the *Gāthāsaptaśatī* in which the picture of the sweatmeat is given as the example which conveys the same lesson:

पूर्वनायिकां विहाय गुणान्तरलेभेन नायिकान्तरगामिनं नायकं काप्यन्याप-
देशेनाह—

कमलं सुअन्त महुअर पिक्कइथाण गन्धलोहेण ।

आलेखलङ्घुअं पामरो व्व छिविऊण जाणिहिसि ॥ (VII. 41.)

[कमलं सुश्रवन्मधुकर पक्कपित्थानां गन्धलोभेन ।

आलेखलङ्घुकं पामर इव स्पृष्टा ज्ञास्यसि ॥]

15. चित्रानलन्यायः

This is explained in the verse quoted from Jacob's quotation from Raghunātha under Cītrāṅganānyāya (13).

16. चित्रालानन्यायः

This is similar to the previous ones in its import. The pole or stake to which an elephant is tied can serve no real purpose when it is only a depiction in a picture. Raghunātha enumerates it amongst his list of nyāyas.

17. तृणसिहन्यायः

This is to explain the absolutely futile nature of a thing. The example given is a model of lion made of grass. The *Sanatsujātiya* has a verse giving this example :

अमन्यमानः क्षत्रिय कथिदन्यं

नाधीयते तार्ण इवास्य व्याग्रः ।

कोशालोभान्मोहभयान्तरात्मा

स वै मृत्युस्त्वच्छर्ये य एषः ॥ 15

And Bhagavatpāda Śrī Śāṅkarācārya adds this comment to it :
तस्य अस्य विषयविषान्वस्य षडज्ञवेदविदुषोषाऽपि देहस्तृणनिर्भितो व्याग्र इव निरर्थको भवति ।

Under the sūtra of Pāṇini गोविडालसिंहसैन्धवेषूपमाने (6-2-72) the Kāśikā gives this note in which we get a mention of the तृणसिहः :

गवादिष्पूपमानवाच्चिपूत्तरपदेषु पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति । धान्यगवः । हिरण्यगवः ।
मिक्षाविडालः । तृणसिहः । काष्ठसिहः ।

In the third prastāva of the *Upamitiprapañcakathā*, Siddharṣi uses a similar idea when he writes अनेन सहितः:

पुरुषोऽकिंचित्करतया तृणपुरुषाच्च विशिष्यते (p. 203). (All these refer to dolls of men and beasts made of grass.)

18. पुराणचित्रन्यायः (धूमश्यामपुराणचित्रन्यायः also)

This is to show the dimmed, spoilt and utterly negligible or ephemeral nature of a thing. The example given is the old picture dimmed by smoke and void of its lustre. Rāja-sekhara gives it in his verse in the *Viddhasālabhañjikā* :

निर्यद्वासरजीवपिण्डकरुणं विभ्रत्कवोष्णः कर्त-

र्माज्जिष्ठं रविविम्बसम्बरतलादस्ताचलं चुम्बति ।

किञ्च स्तोकतमः कलापकलनाश्यामायमानं मनाग्-

धूमश्यामपुराणचित्ररचनारूपं जगजायते ॥ (Act II, 22.)

Govardhanācārya has an Āryā on this in his *Saptaśatī* :

श्यामा विलोचनहरी बालेयं मनसि हन्त सज्जन्ती ।

लुम्पति पूर्वकलत्रं धूमलता भित्तिचित्रमिव ॥ 57

Kumāradāsa gives it in a verse of his *Jānakiharana* :

यथा न कज्जलस्पर्शचित्रवैवर्ण्यसंभवः ।

तथा ज्वलितुमादिष्ठो दीपकृत्यो वृषाकपिः ॥ (II. 59.)

The *Samayamātrikā* of Kṣemendra uses this idea in a verse :

सा तत्र भोगमित्रस्य प्रीत्या रक्षैरवाकिरत् ।

पुराणचित्ररूपस्य यौवनस्याल्पशेषताम् ॥ (II. 53.)

Padmagupta mentions it in the verse of his *Mārasāhasāṅkacarita* :

स सङ्गतं यन्मृगशाबचक्षुषः

श्रमासनिद्रः स्फुटमन्वभूदिव ।

झटित्यभूजाग्रदवस्थयाऽस्य तत्

पुरातनालेख्यमिवास्फुर्तं हृदि ॥ (XIII. 2.)

The idea is found again in the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* of Bilhana :

कीर्ति येषां शतमखसखीमुत्सुकानामवाप्तुं

धूमस्तोमे मखपरिचिते पूरयत्यन्तरिक्षम् ।

नो केषांचिद्वचनमश्वणोन्नाकरोन्नाकचिन्तां

शक्तिश्वित्रार्पित इव परं च्छाययाऽभूहरिदः ॥ (XVIII. 74.)

The *Kapphaṇābhūdaya* of Bhaṭṭasīvavāmin echoes the same idea in the verse:

तारासु तारापथभित्तिभागे
तिरो दधत्या वपुषो विशेषात् ।
पुराणचित्राप्रतिमोघमासु
धोत्त्वासुधाकूर्चिकया निषेते ॥ (Can. XII. 13.)

Unfortunately the manuscript of the work is hopelessly corrupt and unintelligible: hence I have tried to reconstruct the verse in the following manner :

ताराश्च तारापथभित्तिभागे
तिरोदधत्या वपुषो विशेषात् ।
पुराणचित्रप्रतिमा निशासु
ज्योत्त्वासुधाकूर्चिकया निषीताः ॥

The effect of smoke on pictures is given in the verse of *Vasantavilāsamahākāvya*:

दन्दह्यमानागुरुधूपधूमसालिन्यभीत्येव गवाक्षगर्भैः ।
चित्राणि चित्राश्मस्यूखमालामिषेण यत्राशु बहिः प्लवन्ते ॥

(II. 27, G. O. S.)

19. भाण्डालेख्यन्यायः

This is to show the apparent insignificance of a thing 'the presence or absence of which in no way affects the structure of a thing'. Colonel Jacob gives this as one of the maxims in his *Laukikanyāñjali* and quotes an example of its use from the *Khandanakhandakhādya* (p. 289):

भाण्डालेख्यमिवेति ॥ यथालेख्यं रेखोपरेखादि सर्वभाण्डसाधारणं न भाण्डविशेषलक्षणं तथा पुरुषाधीनविवक्षापि न विशेषिकेत्यर्थः ।

20. भूमिरथिकन्यायः

This is to justify the preliminary practice of a student. The example given is the man making drawings of a war chariot on the ground for practice. Colonel Jacob gives it in his list of nyāyas and quotes from *Śabarabhāṣya* to explain it:

यत्तावदुपाध्यायः शिष्यसञ्चिधावधीति तद्वहणार्थम् । यच्चिद्ध्यस्तद्वारणार्थम् । ग्रहणधारणे प्रयोगार्थे भूमिरथिकवत् शुष्केष्ट्रिवद्वा । तद्यथा भूमिरथिको भूमौ रथमालिख्यशिक्षां करोति संग्रामे प्राशुभावो भवितेति यथा च छात्रः शुष्केष्ट्रीः प्रयुड्क्ते प्राशुकर्मा भवितास्मीति एवमेतद्वद्वयम् (on Jaimini, 9-2-13).

21. मल्ककशतपरिवृत्तचित्रकरन्यायः

This is to show that a little of everything is taken from many things. The example given is the painter surrounded by many cups of colour taking a bit from each with his brush for applying on the canvas. Śūdraka gives it in his *Mṛcchakatikā* :

यो नामाहं तत्रभवतश्चारुदत्तस्य ऋद्धथाऽहोरात्रं प्रयत्नसिद्धैरुद्धारसुराभे-
गन्धिभिर्मौद्देशैरेवाऽशितोभ्यन्तरचतुःशालकद्वार उपांवष्टो मल्ककशतपरिवृत्तचित्रकर
इवाङ्गुलीभिः स्पृष्टा स्पृष्टाऽपनयामि (Act I.)

The *Cārudatta* of Bhāsa (?) repeats it in the lines :

योऽहं तत्रभवतश्चारुदत्तस्य गेहेऽहोरात्रपर्याप्तिसिद्धैर्नार्वार्थैर्हिंगुविद्धैरुद्धारण-
सुगन्धिभिः भूक्षेपमात्रप्रतीष्टैरन्तरान्तरापनीयैरशनप्रकारैचित्रकर इव वहुमल्कैः परिवृत्तः
आकण्ठमात्रमशित्वा, etc. (Act I.)

22. मूषासिक्ततान्न्यायः

This is to illustrate the shape of one taken by another by completely occupying the space. The example given is the image-maker pouring molten copper into the mould of an image. Colonel Jacob gives many quotations under this maxim. Rāmatīrtha commenting on the verse in the *Upadeśasāhasri* (XIV, 3)

मूषासिक्तं यथा ताम्रं तज्जिभं जायते तथा ।

रूपादीन्व्याप्तुवच्चित्तं तज्जिभं दृश्यते भ्रुवम् ॥

says, मूषान्तःसुषिरा मृत्प्रतिमा । यथाऽभिसंर्पकाद्द्वयभूतं ताम्रं मूषायां निषिक्तं निश्चिप्तं
सत्तज्जिभं जायते तत्समानाकृति भवति तथा चित्तमपि रूपादीन्विषयान्व्याप्तुवत्तज्जिभं
दृश्यते तदाकारं जायत इत्यर्थः ।

He also quotes a line from the *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya* :

मूषानिषिक्तद्रुतताम्रादिप्रतिमावत् on I-1-12 ;

and from *Taittirīya Vārtika* (p. 94) :

विद्यादन्नमयेनैव मूषायां द्रुतताम्रवत् ।

सर्वान्प्राणमयादीन्स्तान्नवितान्पुरुषाकृतन् ॥

23. “यद्यत्साधु न चित्रे स्यात् क्रियते तत्तदन्यथा”

This is the popular belief that even an otherwise ugly thing could be made to appear beautiful or at least better

in a picture. The line is a half of the verse of Kālidāsa in the Śākuntala :

यद्यत्साधु न चित्रे स्याक्रियते तत्तदन्यथा ।

तथापि तस्या लावण्यं रेखया किञ्चिदन्वितम् ॥

The ordinary meaning of the verse that is usually given in the commentary does not do any credit to the high artistic attainments of Duṣyanta. If यद्यत् साधु न चित्रे स्यात् is taken to mean ‘that which is badly drawn—suggesting the incapacity of Duṣyanta in drawing’, naturally क्रियते तत्तदन्यथा would mean it is drawn over again after erasing the previous wrong sketch thereby dirtying the paper. In that case तथापि तस्या लावण्यं रेखया किञ्चिदन्वितम् would mean that in spite of tremendous efforts Duṣyanta could scarcely depict a small measure of her beauty transcending all reproduction. This meaning which so underrates the artistic powers of Duṣyanta can very well be discarded when we have the very happy interpretation of it from my professor who splits up the line into यद्यत् साधु न and चित्रे तत्तदन्यथास्यात् क्रियते meaning that whatever is not beautiful can be made different in a picture. The word स्यात् क्रियते is used in the sense of क्रियेत्. This new meaning shows that in spite of the fact that art idealises and beautifies even the ugly, Duṣyanta, the great painter, could represent the beauty of Śakuntalā only partially—so lovely is her form.

24. “यादृशश्चित्रकारस्तादशी चित्रकर्मरूपरेखा”

This is the popular belief of Ancient India. The picture or image takes after its executor. Rājaśekhara mentions it in the *Viddhasālabhañjikā*. The king supposes the picture to be that of a woman drawn by herself.

राजा (विमृश्य) —

अहो वपुःश्रीर्लिखितुर्जनस्य स्वाकारसंवादि यदत्र चित्रम् ।

इदं च पौरन्धर्मवैभि कर्म रेखानिवेशोऽत्र यदेकधारः ॥ 35

(सम्यग्विलोक्य) तदियं मकरध्वजैजयन्ती काऽपि स्वयमेव स्वां लिखितवतीति निर्णयते ।

विदूषकः—एवमेतत् । यतो गरिष्ठजनगोष्ठीघ्वपीत्यं किल श्रूयते । याद्वशक्तिर-
करस्तादृशी चित्रकर्मरूपेरेखा, याद्वशः कविस्तादृशी काव्यबन्धच्छायेति ।

The idea is repeated again in his *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* in the lines :

अपि च नित्यं शुचिः स्यात् । त्रिधा च शौचम्—वाक्शौचम्, मनःशौचम्,
कायशौचं च । प्रथमे शास्त्रजन्मनी । तार्तीयिकं तु सनखच्छेदं पादौ, सताम्बूलं मुखम्,
सविलेपनगात्रं वपुः, महार्हमनुभ्वणं च वासः, सकुसुमं शिर इति । शुचिशीलनं हि
सरस्वत्या : संहननमामनन्ति । स यावत्स्वभावः कविस्तादृशरूपं काव्यम् । याद्वशाकार-
श्वित्रकरस्तादृशाकारमस्य चित्रमिति प्रायोवादः । (*Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, Chap. X.)

There is a quotation in the *Sabdakalpadruma* under the head “Citra” :

ब्रुद्धेन च भवेद्वृद्धो व्याधिते व्याधितो भवेत् ।

कुरुपेण कुरुपस्तु मूर्खेण तु न पूज्यते ॥

लेखकस्य तु यद्रूपं चित्रे भवति तादृशम् ॥

confirming this view.

25. रेखागवयन्यायः

This is to show that from the idea of a thing given the thing itself is comprehended. The illustration cited is the sketch or drawing of a gavaya (cow-like animal) given to a villager who on meeting it in a forest understands it by the similarity of form in the picture. Colonel Jacob quotes from Raghunātha varma to explain it :

“कीदृशो गवय” इति ग्रामीणेन पृष्ठो वन्यो लिखित्वा दर्शयामास; स चर्जु-
बुद्धित्वाद्रेखागवयमेव गवयं मेने । पश्चाद्वने गवयं हृष्टा रेखायां तद्बुद्धिं तत्याजेति
लौकिकी गाथा । तथैष पुरुष इत्यादि श्रुतेः पूर्वोक्ततात्पर्यानभिज्ञोऽनात्मानेमवात्मतया
जानीते । गुरुशास्त्रोपदेशनात्मनि ज्ञाते तदात्मबुद्धिमपवदति ।

He also quotes from Vācaspatimiśra's *Tatparyatikā* (p. 457) and the *Vedāntakalpataruparimala* (p. 363), the latter passage being

तात्त्विकारूपतीतिपत्त्युपायनतया नानापुरुषैः कल्प्यमानायां तत्प्राच्योदीच्यादि-
नक्षत्ररूपायां स्थूलारूपतया यथा वा रेखागवयन्यायेन नित्यशब्दप्रतिपत्त्युपायनतया
नानाव्याकरणैः परस्परभिज्ञप्रकृतिप्रत्ययविभागेन कृत्रिमशब्द इति भावः ।

and also from Kaiyata on *Mahābhāṣya*, 1-1-46 :

असत्यप्रकृतिप्रत्ययोपदेशेन सत्यस्य पदस्य व्युत्पादनं कियते रेखागवयेनेव सत्यगवयस्य ।

26. व्योम्नि चित्रकल्पनान्यायः

It is the same as ‘*kudyam vinā citrakarmanyāya*’. This is to illustrate an impossibility or a totally non-existent thing like a ‘hare’s horn’. We get it in the line of the *Kathasaritsāgara* of Sominadevabhaṭṭa :

इयं शशविषाणेच्छा व्योम्नि वा चित्रकल्पना ॥

(Lambaka VII, Tarāṅga 6, p. 213, sl. 21.)

27. सद्भित्तिलिखितचित्रन्यायः

This is to emphasise the proper choice or selection of the recipient of a thing. The example given is the well-prepared wall for painting pictures on it. The rules laid down for preparing the surface of the wall are elaborate for this very purpose. Pictures executed on such prepared surfaces alone are shown off to advantage. Kṣemendra gives it in the verse of his *Samayamātrikā* :

पात्रं तदुपदेशस्य त्वमेव त्रिदशोचिता ।

सद्भित्तिलिखितं चित्रं चित्रतामेति नेत्रयोः ॥ (IV. 17.)

The verse of Kālidāsa from the *Mālavikāgnimitra* :

पात्रविशेषे न्यस्तं गुणान्तरं ब्रजति शित्पमाधारुः ।

जलभिव समुद्रशुक्तौ मुक्ताफलतां पयोदस्य ॥ (Act I. 6.)

is also to the same purpose. Rājānaka Kuntaka expresses a similar idea in the line :

किञ्च—अनुकृष्टधर्मयुक्तस्य वर्णनीयस्यालङ्करणमप्यसमुचितमिति भागो हितितालेख्यवच्च शोभातिशयकारितामावहति ।

(*Vakroktijivita*, Unmeṣa III.)

BĀLACARITAM.

BY PROF. K. R. PISHAROTI, M.A.

(Continued from Vol. XXV, No. 4, p. 235)

Act II.

(Then enter young Cāndāla women¹⁴)

All.—Come, Lord, come. Get yourself married to us.¹⁵

(Then enter King)

King.—Ho! What's this?

Mansion-tops tumbling down and huge wave-wreaths rising up all around, the earth has quaked like a ferry-boat. This noticeable indication resulting from the *Guna* and *Karma* of the great, what does it presage for me, good or bad?¹⁶ (1)

All.—Come, Lord, come. Get yourself married to us.

King.—Because some of the sentinels do not keep the round, because the torch-bearing damsels do not walk around, these fearful Cāndāla women, dark like antimony, dark like the blue lotus, have entered my residence.¹⁷ (2)

All.—Come, Lord, come. Get yourself married to us.

King.—Why, alas, are these Cāndāla women created?

Me, whose mere anger destroys the enemies, who have under control the sun, the moon and the fire, who am death even to Death and fear even to Fear, even me they tease by insulting words.¹⁸ (3)

¹⁴ The act takes place during the night following the birth of Kṛṣṇa. In this respect this stands unique, for the number of acts depicting night scenes is so few in Sanskrit. Of these the two famous ones are the cemetery scene in the *Mālatī-Mādhava* and the *Sahārayana* scene in the *Svapnavāśavarddha*. Notice also that the whole scene takes place in the private chambers of the king. *Vide* note 26 following.

¹⁵ The Cāndāla women and their talk, as mentioned later, are apparent only to Kamsa and to none else in the palace. It is more or less a dream and it demands a great skill for successful staging.

¹⁶ The verse gives good scope for the Cākyars to act. Kamsa is anxious to know whether the omens seen have reference to him.

¹⁷ In normal circumstances the carelessness of the torch-bearers and guards would have made him angry, but now he is not, because he is afraid.

¹⁸ The soliloquy of the king tends to show that he feels that the omens presage something bad for him.

All.—Come, Lord, come.

King.—Ah wretches ! How now suddenly disappeared !¹⁹ Well, I shall now get in.²⁰

(*Then enter Curse*)

Curse.—Hem, where enterst thou ? This has now become my abode.

King.—Who is this suddenly come standing athwart my bed rooms in complexion dark as a heap of pitch, holding a torch, his jaws set terribly wild, his eyes glaring like those of a serpent, like anger incarnate come to earth from the face of Siva ?²¹ Who art thou ? (4)

Curse.—Know you not me ? I am the sage Madhūka's Curse, by name Vajrabāhu.

From amidst the crematorium have I come to enter the heart of King Kamsa, in the ugly and fearful garb of a Cāndāla, looking weird with the wreath of skulls. (5)

Kamsa.—Thou seekest the impossible !

The breeze from the wings of the crow does not shake the beautiful golden peaks of Meru. Laughable art thou, who desirest to drink away in palmfuls²² the ocean lashed by big waves and abounding in sharks. (6)

Curse.—In time shalt thou know.

Kamsa.—Hem, how now suddenly disappeared ! Well, I shall now to bed and try to shut my eyes (*Sleep*).²³

Curse.—Ah, he is asleep. Alakṣmi, Khalati, Kālarātri, Mahānidrā, Pingalākṣi,—all, ho ! come, let us go inside.

All.—So be it.

¹⁹ The appearance of the Cāndāla women steeped him in fear and their sudden disappearance only enhances it. The advent of the Cāndāla women must be so staged as to produce an illusion. *Vide* notes 15 and 25.

²⁰ This is a significant statement, *vide* notes 23 and 26. The king appears to be dreaming that he was walking out when the Cāndālas came and now when he tried to get in—again in the dream—he was confronted by the figure of a Curse.

²¹ The king betrays a strain of fear.

²² The Curse is here compared to one who hopes to empty the ocean by drinking off its waters with his palmfuls.

²³ This carries the illusion further afield.

(Entering)

Rājaśri.—Enter not.*Curse.*—Who art thou ?*Śri.*—Don't you know me ? I am his Lakṣmi.*Curse.*—Is it ? O Rājaśri, retire madam. This has now become my home.*Śri.*—Hem !

O fool, on whose authority dost thou, disregarding me, enter at night this abode of mine which is similar unto Lankā ? Why speak much ? It is not now possible for thee to see and enter this so long as I guard it. (7)

Curse.—O Goddess, thou who residest in Lotus ! Leave off the body of Kamsa. Viṣṇu orders it.*Śri.*—Sayst thou that Viṣṇu orders it ? Alas !

Due to my long residence, I am indeed unable to leave the King. He is powerful and is the abode of good qualities and it pains me.²⁴ (8)

But inviolable are the orders of Viṣṇu. So then shall I go to the presence of Viṣṇu. (*Exit*)

Curse.—Rājaśri is gone. Well, this has now become our abode. Alakṣmi, Kālārātri, Mahānidrā, Pingalākṣi, let us go in and divert ourselves as becomes our nature.*All.*—Henceforth thou shalt fall away from righteous conduct.*Curse.*—Closely do I embrace thee who art ever devoted to *Adharma*. I, the Sage's Curse, have now reached you, and thou wilt ere long go to ruin. (9)(Disappear²⁵)

(Entering)

Portress.—Hail, my lord !*King.*—Hem !*Portress.*—I am Yaśodharā, my lord.*King.*—Yaśodharā, did you not notice the entrance of the Cāṇḍāla women ?

²⁴ Have we here a peep into the general character of woman?

²⁵ See notes 15 and 19. The whole effect of the scene lies in the mode of staging it. It must be such as will produce this impression of illusion.

Portress.—Cāndāla women ? Entry here is difficult even for those who daily live at your feet ; what then need be said of Cāndāla women ?

Kamsa.—Can it be a dream I have seen ?²⁶ Yaśodharā, go and bring in our chamberlain Vālāki.

Portress.—As my lord orders. (*Exit*)

(*Then enter the Chamberlain*)

Chamberlain.—Hail, my lord !

King.—Worthy Vālāki, you will consult our preceptors what is signified by the divine manifestations, seen to-night,—storms, earthquakes, shooting stars.

Chamberlain.—As Your Majesty orders. (*Going out and entering*)²⁷ Your Majesty, the preceptors²⁸ inform you thus.

King.—What is it ?

Chamberlain.—Listen,

That being, O King, which ordinarily resides in the regions of the sky, is come down to the earth on a particular purpose. By the sounds of the divine trumpets and by earthquakes is denoted the wonderful change at the time of his birth. (10)

King.—At whose birth did the earth with the mountains shake ? Know whose is he the son and what is the object of his birth ? (11)

Chamberlain.—As Your Majesty orders. (*Going out and entering*) Hail my lord!²⁹ Queen Devaki has given birth to a daughter.

King.—Is it true ?³⁰

²⁶ This makes clear that the whole scene is a dream for Kamsa and that it is located in the private chambers of the king. Cf. notes 15 and 19.

²⁷ The translation is based on the suggestion of the editor. We feel however that there is no need for such an emendation ; for an efficient minister naturally comes ready prepared to answer all questions from his master.

²⁸ The text here is doubtful. Possibly the preceptors are those appointed annually.

²⁹ The suggestion made by the editor gives good reading. There is evidently a lacunæ.

³⁰ This anxiety proves that the king's nerves were shattered.

Chamberlain.—Your Majesty, I have never uttered a falsehood. I saw the child in the hands of the nurse, surrounded by your servants.

King.—Why, though false, a Brahmin's word is truth to me. Go and call Vasudeva.

Chamberlain.—As Your Majesty orders. (*Exit*)

King.—Vasudeva is virtuous and truth-speaking. Further, he will never utter a falsehood in my presence. Well, we will hear him.³¹

(*Then enter Vasudeva*)

Vasudeva.—My six children lost, I live on with my body emaciated with sorrow. Called by the wicked King, do I now go like a dependent servant. (12)

Alas, such is the course of the world.

The king is (a source of) fear when remembered; also (a source of) fear when not remembered. Both with fear and without, (he) must ever be approached.³² (13)

(*Approaching*)—O Son of Sauraseni,³³ I am here.³⁴

King.—Son of Yādavi, take your seat.

Vasudeva.—Well. (*Sitting down*) Son of Sauraseni, why were we called in?

King.—Son of Yādavi, Devaki has delivered?

Vasudeva.—Yes, she has.

King.—What has she given birth to?

Vasudeva.—(*To himself*) Even I have to utter a lie. What shall I do now? Well, I see. For the protection of the prince even falsehood becomes truth.³⁵ (*Aloud.*) She has given birth to a girl.

³¹ The scene is located in the private chambers of the king and unto this place is Vasudeva called in.

³² Here as in similar cases the question arises as to the disposition of the stage, so that the scene might have the required air of reality. There must apparently be two different levels.

³³ Notice the interesting mode of address. Kamsa is called *Saurasenīmāta* and not *Saurasenīputra*. Is there not a Malayali touch here?

³⁴ The text here must be read *ayamasmi* instead of *āsyatām*.

³⁵ The text has been slightly rearranged.

King.—I must at all events kill it, whether it be a girl or a boy.
By my manliness shall I indeed cheat fate. (14)

(*Entering*)

Portress.—Hail, my lord. Our Queen sends this message.

“Your Majesty, be merciful since it is a baby and a girl.”

Vasudeva.—Son of Śauraseni, hearken unto the words of the wretched.

Devaki.—Women have greater fondness for girls.

King.—Don’t you remember, sire, my vow ?

On hearing the sage Madhvuka’s curse, I have taken a vow that I will kill all the offsprings of Devaki. (15)

Vasudeva.—Vow ! Then I don’t speak.

Portress.—My lord, what shall I tell the queen ?

King.—Yaśodharā, tell Devaki this—“It is not proper to press me on this score. Something dearer I may do.”

Portress.—As my lord orders.

King.—Yaśodharā, do so.

*Portress.*³⁶—Freely enter, my lord (?)

Vasudeva.—I love to be faultless and yet have I become an instrument in bringing about the death of another’s child.

Or shall I bring back the prince and offer him ? Or why, This baby was first dead but was later resuscitated by the greatness of that child ; it can never be destroyed.

(16)

I shall now go and console Devaki. (*Exit*)

King.—Yaśodharā, let the child be brought in.

Portress.—As my lord orders. (*Exit*)

³⁶ The text here seems to be not clear. In the first place as it stands it has not much significance and secondly, the speech of Vasudeva cannot be as it is for he has not taken leave of Kamsa. See note 38 following. The king here is apparently giving directions to the portress regarding the destruction of the child and says that he will proceed to another part of the building. In this case there must be the stage direction *Exit King* and after that *Freely enter, my lord* must come. Then Vasudeva, being left alone, indulges in his soliloquy. This must then be followed by the direction *Then enter the King*. Unless some such alteration is made, the tragic deed which would be performed within the bedroom of Kamsa, to say the least, would be very inappropriate.

(Then enter the nurse with the baby and the guard)

All.—Slowly, slowly, madam. This is the middle gate. Enter, madam.

Nurse.—(Entering) Hail, Your Majesty ! We have long been protecting the child.³⁷

King.—This child is a worthy object for even king's eyes. Alas ! that I have to murder also a girl !

Nurse.—Slowly, slowly, my lord.

King.—This is the *Kamsa Stone*.³⁸ Now then shall I to the terrible work.

This is the seventh child given rise to thro' the strength of the sage's curse. This also done to death, I shall have peace. (17)

(Catching hold of it and striking) Ah !

One part has fallen on the ground, while the other has flown up to the sky, and with its hands glistening with weapons appears as if risen to kill me. (18)

Ah, here is she now : risen up like the veritable manifestation of Kālarātri at the advent of the time of destruction, expanding in its terrible form, and leaning on a sharp javelin. (19)

(Then enter *Kārtiyāyani* with her retinue)

Kārtiyāyani.—Having killed Sumbha, Nisumbha, and Mahisha and having (thus) destroyed the strength of the enemies of the Devas, have I *Kārtiyāyani* taken birth in the family of Vasudeva to bring ruin on the race of Kamsa. (20)

Kundodara.—I am he born of the awful sound produced at the time of the birth of the Goddess, the unconquerable *Kundodara*, the doer of terrible deeds in war. From the celestial regions to the broad earth shall I now hasten desirous of killing the proud Asuras, who are haughty on account of their great valour. (21)

³⁷ The reading is evidently incorrect : the nurse surely has not been *long* protecting the child.

³⁸ The scene so far has been in the private chambers of the king. The *Kamsa Stone* cannot be located in the room of the king. To suggest the change of place the king must have left the stage and re-entered it.

Śūla.—I am the spirit Javelin, come down to the earth and I possess a glorious and beautiful form through the grace of the Goddess. I shall in battle kill Kamsa and exterminate him as Kārtikeya did the demon in the form of a tree in the ocean. (22)

Nila.—I am indeed Nila the author of quarrels, valorous and invincible in battle. I will kill the wicked Kamsa in battle as the great Śaktidhara killed Krauñca. (23)

Manojava.—I am Manojava, in speed the equal of wind, come here to carry out the purpose of the Goddess. I shall in the front of the fray deal with the Daityas as fire does with a mass of reeds. (24)

Kārtyāyani.—Kundodara, Śankukarna, Mahānila, Manojava—come all of you. Let us go and be in the Ghosa in the garb of cowherds to enjoy the boyish deeds of the divine Viṣṇu. (25)

All.—As our Goddess orders (*Exit Kārtyāyani with her retinue*).

King.—Ah, it is dawn!³⁹

Now for peace shall I enter the abode of peace and perform Śānti on a grand scale; and I shall have peace.

(*Exeunt all*)⁴⁰

End of Act II.

³⁹ The whole scene must be taking place at night.

⁴⁰ As mentioned before, the scene would be impressive if there be proper scenic equipment and if the actors could act properly. If, however, it is acted as our usual dramas are, it is bound to fall flat. It is evidently intended for Cākyars to act.

Act III.

(*Then enter the aged Cowherd⁴¹*)

Aged Cowherd.—Ho ! Meghadatta, ho ! Vṛṣabhadatta, here Kumbhadatta, here Ghoṣadatta, look, look, to the herd. Here in this Vṛṇḍāvana after having drunk water to the full the herd comes bellowing. Coming out of the herd and tearing up hills, this bull now shines with its horns adorned with the chains of snakes, blue like the night lotus. This is yet another bull, fair like the moon, with its tail raised aloft and knees bent, looking beautiful, as it throws up the earth with its horns. Well, I shall now halloo for Dāmaka. O Dāmaka ! Leave the cattle in a good place and come up with the calves.

(*Then enter Dāmaka*)

Dāmaka.—Ha, rich is my lord Nandagopa's grass. From the day of his son's birth, his happiness is wonderfully increasing. Well, let the herd stand here. I shall approach my uncle. (*Approaching*) Uncle,⁴² I bow.

Aged Cowherd.—Peace, peace unto us and our herd.

Dāmaka.—Uncle, from the day of the birth of Nandagopa's son, our herd has become free from all diseases. The happiness of all cowherds is on the increase. Further, roots appear wherever we dig and flowers on every creeper.⁴³

Aged Cowherd.—This is yet another wonder.⁴⁴ When Nandagopa's son was but ten nights old, there came the Dānava woman, Pūtanā by name, in the garb of Nandagopa's wife with her breasts filled with poison. Then she took the child and suckled it. Then knowing her, he felled her, when she became a Dānavi and lay dead. Then when the son

⁴¹ From the point of view of time analysis, this scene takes place some years after the birth of Kṛṣṇa.

⁴² This deference to uncle, no less than the interesting mode of address with reference to mother would suggest that the author was a Malayali.

⁴³ The description shows how the Gokula was affected by the birth of Kṛṣṇa.

⁴⁴ In what follows the boyish adventures of Kṛṣṇa are described.

of Nandagopa was but a month old, there came the Dānava named Śakata, in the form of a babble-coach. He also was recognised and with a single kick with his foot, he smashed him to pieces, when he became a Dānava and lay there dead. Then in good time Nandagopa's son goes to one house and drinks milk ; goes to another and eats ghee ; goes to one and swallows fresh butter ; goes to another and feasts on pudding ; goes to still another and looks covetingly on the pot of curd. The Gopa damsels naturally became angry and they spoke to Nandagopa's wife. She became angry and taking a rope and tying him in the middle fastened him to a mortar. Then drawing that mortar and seeing the two demons Yamala and Arjuna standing together in the form of trees he rushed between and dashed against them when the trees were smashed to pieces. Then the two Dānavas rose up from them and forthwith fell down dead. Then the Gopa people said that since he was possessed of great strength and prowess, he should thenceforth be called Dāmodara. Then when the son of Nandagopa was running hither and thither, the Dānava, called Pralamba, came in the disguise of Nandagopa. He took Saṅgharṣaṇa on his shoulders and was going, when Saṅgharṣaṇa gave blows on his head with his fists. Owing to the blows his eyes were crushed and he became a Dānava and fell down dead. Accompanied by the shepherds, he went to the palm grove to gather fruits. There in that grove came the Dānava, named Dhenuka, in the guise of an ass. Recognising him also, Dāmodara caught him by his hind legs and threw him up to bring down the palmyra fruits. He also became a Dānava and fell down dead. Then came the Asura, Keśi by name, in the guise of a horse. He also was recognised and Dāmodara put reins in his mouth and rode him twice. Then he became a Dānava and fell down dead. These and such other deeds have been done by master Dāmodara.

Dāmaka.—Uncle, let all this be. This day our master Dāmodara

comes to Vṛndāvana, accompanied by Gopa damsels for *Hallisaka* dance.⁴⁵

Aged Cowherd.—Then let us see master Dāmodara's *Hallisaka* dance with all the Gopa damsels.

Dāmaka.—As my uncle orders.

(Exit)

Praveśaka

(Entering)

Aged Cowherd.⁴⁶—Just before sunrise daily offer worship with great devotion by bowing down your heads to the mothers of the earth, the cows, who are full of nectar. (1)

Ah, the prosperity of our *pakkānas* (huts).⁴⁷ Let us all be ready and go in gala dresses for the sports with our drums ready.⁴⁸ Our Gopa damsels ! Ghosasundari ! Vanamālā ! Candrarekhā ! come, come quick.

(Then enter all)

All.—Uncle,⁴⁹ we bow to thee.

Aged Cowherd.—Ah girls, like a lion from its cave here comes our master Dāmodara, accompanied by master Saṅgharṣaṇa in complexion as fair as cow's milk, and surrounded by Gopālas.

(Then enter Dāmodara and Saṅgharṣaṇa surrounded by young Gopas)

Dāmodara.—(Wonderingly) How tastefully they dress, the Gopa women who are naturally very charming !

These Gopa damsels, whose faces and eyes are like lotuses and lilies blooming, whose bodies are as fair as the

⁴⁵ *Hallisaka* is a mode of dramatic entertainment, described as a piece in one act, consisting chiefly of singing and acting, by seven or eight or ten females, perhaps a kind of ballet; or a circular dance performed by women under the direction of one man. The latter seems to be the variety intended here. *Vide* Samskrit Dictionary by Monier-Williams.

⁴⁶ The main scene takes place the same day as the *Praveśaka*, being but a continuation of the same.

⁴⁷ *Pakkāna* is the hut in which lower orders of people, like cowherds, live.

⁴⁸ Some liberty is taken with the text. As it stands, it means ready with our pride and dressed like drums !

⁴⁹ See note 42. The same deference to uncle is shown here.

1.

pollen of the golden *campaka* flower, whose hair and hands
are full of sylvan flowers, these, dressed in variegated
colours and murmuring sweet, are diverting themselves. (2)

Saṅgharṣaṇa.—The Gopa damsels are come.

Some stand quite delighted, sounding their red drums
made of Vesuki (?) some having lotus-eyes and lotus-
faces divert themselves in varied ways; and others,
having kept awake in their gladness in their huts filled
with the bellowing of the cattle and now having come to
the Vṛndāraṇya stand singing exceedingly pleased. (3)

Aged Cowherd.—Hem master, all have come quite ready.

Dāmaka.—Hail Victory, Lord.

Saṅgharṣaṇa.—Dāmaka, all the Gopa damsels come?

Dāmaka.—Yes, my lord, all of them have come quite ready.

Dāmodara.—Ghosasundari, Vanamālā, Candrarekhā, Mṛgākṣi,
let us arrange for the *Hallisaka* dance which befits our
cowherd life.

All.—As my lord orders.

Saṅgharṣaṇa.—Dāmaka, Meghanāda, sound the musical instru-
ments.

Both.—Lord, as you please (*Music is sounded*)⁵⁰

Aged Cowherd.—Lord, you are performing the *Hallisaka* dance;
what am I to do here?

Dāmodara.—Thou art, indeed, the spectator.

Aged Cowherd.—Lord, as you say. (*All dance*)

Aged Cowherd.—Ha! Ha! Well sung! Instruments well
played! Excellent dance! I too shall dance. I am very
tired.

(*Entering*)

Cowherd.—Ha, Ha! Lord, clear out from this place!

Dāmodara.—Dāmaka, why art thou bewildered?

Cowherd.—Here is the Dānava, named Ariṣṭarṣabha, like
destruction incarnate, who is breaking open the earth
with his hoofs and whose roar I mistook for that of the
cloud.

⁵⁰ The stage-direction must be there.

Dāmodara.—So then Ariṣṭarṣabha is come. Go thou, brother, with these our Gopa boys and girls to the top of yonder hill and witness my fight with the wicked bull. I shall humble his pride.

(*Exit Saṅgharṣaṇa with them*)

Dāmodara.—This, this is the wicked Ariṣṭarṣabha !

Tearing open the earth with his hoofs, throwing up the sides with his horns, and roaring, here comes the lordly bull running, as the terrified cowherds are looking on. (4)

(*Then enter Ariṣṭarṣabha*)

Ariṣṭarṣabha.—Ah, ho !

For the purpose of killing my enemy have I taken the form of a bull, the lustre from whose horns seems to scrape the skies. And now shall I attack my enemy who is sweetly roaring in the Vṛndāvan forest and roam about at pleasure. (5)

Here in this shepherd village the Gopa damsels miscarry on hearing my roar, and the earth marked with the crescent by the fore-part of my hoofs is shaking with its trees and forests. (6)

Where now is gone the son of Nandagopa ? Hallo !

Son of Nandagopa ! Where art thou ?

Dāmodara.—Ah, wicked bull, here, here ! Here do I stand.

Ariṣṭarṣabha.—Ha !

Very strong is, indeed, the boy who is struck neither with fear nor wonder on seeing my great strength and terrible figure and (on hearing) my loud roar. (7)

Dāmodara.—Ah ! What is this fear that I now hear from you ?

Born am I on this earth to give protection unto the terrified. (8)

Ariṣṭarṣabha.—Ha ! Child art thou, and so thou knowst not fear.

Dāmodara.—Ah, wicked bull ! Dost thou taunt me with my childhood ?

Does not a man die even though bitten by the young cobra ? Formerly Kraunca was, indeed, done to death by the young Skanda. (9)

Ariṣṭarśabha.—May be.⁵¹

Dāmodara.—Listen, fool, to this also. Is not the mountain, the conglomeration of hard stones, destroyed by the sprout-like *Vajra*? (10)

Ariṣṭarśabha.—Hallo ! Son of Nandagopa, what art thou after ?

Dāmodara.—To lead you to destruction.

Ariṣṭarśabha.—Art thou capable ?

Dāmodara.—What doubt is there ?

Ariṣṭarśabha.—Well, then, arm yourself with any weapon you like.

Dāmodara.—Weapon, do you say ? Hm !

These my arms, set in shoulders as hard as rock, are my weapons. Other weapons are for such weaklings as thyself. Now, struck with my club-like hands, if thou dost not at once fall down on the earth, I am not *Dāmodara*. (11)

Ariṣṭarśabha.—So, then, begin the duel.

Dāmodara.—Ah, thou wicked bull ! Shake me from the place, if thou hast the strength, me who am standing on one foot.

Ariṣṭarśabha.—What doubt is there ? (*Tries to do so but falls down in a swoon*).

Dāmodara.—Ha ! Bull ! Revive, revive. Thou wert proud of thy strength.

Ariṣṭarśabha.—(*Reviving, to himself*)—Impossible to overcome is this boy !

Can He be Rudra or Śakra or lord Viṣṇu himself ? Unfounded is my doubt. He is Viṣṇu himself. (12)

Alas,

Wherever we are born, there is manifest the support of the three worlds, Madhusūdana, for the destruction of the Dānavas. (13)

Well, even if killed by Viṣṇu, I shall have that eternal world for my abode. Hence shall I fight. (*Aloud*) Ha ! Son of Nandagopa, my pride is up again.

⁵¹ The suggestion of the editor alone makes the text readable.

Dāmodara.—Hem ! Stop, stop now.

Dost thou prattle yet, O lordly Bull, even after falling into my hands, like the dark monsoon cloud, which has begun to rain ? Come, I throw thee down and thou shalt fall on the ground like the side of the dark mountain struck by *Vajra*. (14)

(*Doing thus*) Here, here is the wicked Arīṣṭarśabha !

With his nose and mouth and eyes clotted with rushing blood, his hump and tail shaking, his feet and ears shivering, (here) falls dead on the earth the lordly Bull, the lord of Dānavas, like the mountain with its peaks struck with lightning. (15)

(*Entering*)

Dāmaka.—Hail victory, my lord ! My lord Saṅgharṣana is gone to the Jumna pool on hearing that the great serpent is come up. Stop, stop, O lord, master Saṅgharṣana.

Dāmodara.—I too have heard of this Kāliya, the proud lord of serpents. Well, I shall suppress his pride.

Many lives, Brahmins and cows, are destroyed by him. Henceforth he shall become very mild and devoid of all strength.⁵² (16)

(*Exeunt*)

End of Act III.

(*To be Continued.*)

⁵² This act also, like the preceding, gives ample scope for acting and if this is not attended to in the course of representation, it would be very tedious on the stage.

THE TWELVE IMAGES OF SPLENDOUR

(TWELVE JYOTIR LINGAMS)

BY C. M. RAMACHANDRAM CHETTIAR

It is said of an English University man that he used to perfect his education by making a tour on the continent. As for a Hindu who is ever a student in religion, travel throughout Bharata Varsha is enjoined as a duty. For an ordinary person it would be for the purpose of perfecting his knowledge and to get the blessings of the great men living in the various sacred places. For an adept it would be to propagate his learning to humanity and to bless the people with real knowledge. Travel to sacred places had been undertaken from time immemorial by the rich as well as the poor, and by the ascetic as well as by the family man. Adversity and famine, war and tumult, want of communication and difficulty of travel, length of time and old age, never stood in the way of people undertaking such journeys. Greatest Acharyas from Sankara downwards are said to have entered the formidable regions of the Himalayas in their travels. Rich Zamindars with a big retinue and a zenana would pass through hostile territory and jungles infested with wild beasts and robbers, to reach their destination. Poor Sadhus, rich with religious experience, and nothing to wear but a langoti and with no equipment but a lota, would walk several days in the snowy beds on rocky peaks to reach Badri, Gangotri, Jamnotri and even to Mount Kailas. The Western scientists who stagger and tumble down in their attempts to scale Mounts Kanchana Ganga and Gourisankar although armed with all the up-to-date scientific appliances, munitions, sinews of war and provisions, would wonder how a semi-naked, ash-rubbed, skeleton-like mendicant could dare go up the snow line of the formidable heights of Himalayas and reach his ever-longed-for sacred *sanctum sanctorum*. But yet facts are there that Hindus do go to such places of pilgrimage at least once in their life (some

have done it even 13 times) to get and to give knowledge and to be blessed or to bless their fellowmen while there.

The ancients have located their sacred places throughout the length and breadth of the land. Here upon a small hill, there upon a big mountain, here near a mighty river, there on a small island, here at the junction of three rivers, there in the midst of a thick forest, here on the sea coast, there in a desert—in this manner temples have been constructed, perhaps with the view that a traveller should get all sorts of experiences of the people who occupied such places and of the country in which they are situated. To help the pupils and devotees in the work of remembering the names of such places, the ancients have sung songs stringing those names into garlands of verses. Pupils are made to commit those verses to memory and pious men do repeat them in their daily prayers with the idea of sanctifying their lives even though they had not been blessed with an opportunity to visit those places. We know the names of the Seven Sacred Rivers—Ganga, Jamna, Saraswathi, Narmada, Sindhu, Godavari and Kaveri—are repeated by Hindus during prayers at baths. Similarly the names of the Twelve Jyotir Lingams are memorised by the students during their studies and are repeated by them during prayers. There are three slokas giving their names only and another poem of twelve slokas giving more particulars about each place. *Siva Purāṇam* (in the 38th Chapter) deals with them in detail and gives another list of twelve Upa or minor Jyothir Lingams. The slokas are:—

Sourāshṭre Somanātham cha Śrīsaile Mallikārjunam |
Ujjayinyām Mahākālam Omkāram Amaleśvaram ||
Prajvalyām Vaidyanātham cha Dākinyām Bhimaśankaram
Sētubandhētu Rāmēśam Nāgēśam Dārukāvanē ||
Vārāṇaśyāntu Viśveśam Tryambakam Goutamītaṭe |
Himālayētu Kēdaram Ghrishnesham cha śivālaye ||

At a glance at the names of these places, it will be seen that they are strewn throughout the length and breadth of the country. The man who repeats these names will have an idea of the entire motherland of India standing in front of

his eyes. The divergence of castes, races and languages, hides itself behind and one united sacred field of Śivamayam appears before him. Such is the fundamental idea upon which our ancients have constructed the framework of location of sacred places and upon such notions their sacred lore. It will not be far wrong if we say that with the same fundamental idea in view Sri Sankara established his four great Matts in the four corners of the land, at Dwarka in the West, at Badri in the North, at Puri in the East, and at Sringeri in the South. Our ancients had always had the religious unity of the land in their minds upon which political and economical unity ought to have been built up, but, alas ! the country was not so very fortunate to succeed in the latter ideal.

Now coming to the twelve great Jyotir Lingams, which, we have said, are strewn in different places of the land, we find that they are and have been regarded as centres of great religious activity and force, and from thousands of years huge swarms of devoted pilgrims have been congregating there during festivals and on other occasions. Like flames of splendour, they have attracted all pious devotees and that is why they are called *Jyoti*, *i.e.*, flame of splendour. Some of the places have in course of time become less splendid and a few others nearby have eclipsed their glory. So now, one is not able to say that all are of equal splendour. It has become nowadays not possible even to locate some of them in their right places. For instance, names like *Nagesa* and *Vaidyanātha* are found in several districts and provinces and we could not identify what were originally meant. Different editions give different names for one and the same place.

Now let us see in detail about the various lingams and their locations.

1. Somanatha in Sourashtra

This place is on the sea coast in the Junagadh State in Kathiawar in Guzrat, Bombay Presidency. It was a place of great splendour during the early Hindu period endowed

with colossal wealth. The Lingam was a huge object and the temple looked like a fort. In 1024 A.D. Mahmud of Ghazni was attracted by its fabulous wealth, invaded the temple and destroyed the Lingam and won the title "Breaker of Idols". But his destructive work was not the last word upon the temple. Even to-day there stands the famous temple in all its splendour and thousands of pilgrims go to the place to tread upon its sacred soil hallowed by Sri Krishna's feet. (Dwaraka is nearby !)

2. Sri Saila

This temple is on a beautiful platform at the summit of the Nallamalai Hills in the Kurnool District just up the Krishna river where the latter is called Pātāla Ganga. The God's name is Mallikārjuna and the wild tribes call the God as "their Chenchu Mallayya". During Sivaratri thousands of people ascend up the thirty miles of rugged pathway in three days in order to worship God. The place had been a very ancient one and had been once a seat of learning. Sankara, Basava and other religious reformers have visited the place to establish their philosophical creeds. Shivaji, the famous monarch, was struck dumb with its devotional atmosphere, wanted to renounce worldly wealth to be an ascetic there and to sacrifice his life to God at that place. But fortunately for the country his idea was averted by the timely advice of his devoted ministers and by his Guru Ramdas.

3. Ujjain

The deity's name is Mahākāla. The place is a railway centre in Central India. It is said to be in the ancient city of Avantikā. It is on the River Siprā. This is the place from which our Hindu astronomers had calculated their first meridian. The famous astronomer King Jay Singh had erected his observatory at this place. The great Poet Kālidāsa was born in a village towards the east of this place. This place had seen great battles during the Muhammadan period. Vikramaditya legends are connected with this place. A little north of the town is the famous shrine of Mahākāla.

4. Omkar and Amalesvaram

The sloka on it locates it at Māndhātapuri. Mandāta is an island on the Narbada river in the Nimur District in the Central Provinces. Omkar is the deity on the island. Amalesvar is the temple on the southern bank of the river. So this is a dual sthala. The place acquired its name owing to the great sacrifice performed by the emperor Māndhāta. There are Jain and Vishnu temples at the place. The great fair of Omkarji is held about the 15th of Karthik every year. The nearest station to the place is Martaka on the Rajputana-Malwa line.

5. Vaidyanatha

One version locates it at Parali and another at the north-east direction. Southerners may locate it at Vaidisvaran Koil in the Tanjore District which has a big Siva temple. The Northerners have five places at different corners with the name of Baidyanath. Two at Santhal Parganas, one at Burdwan, one at Almora and the last at Kangra. According to *Siva Purāṇam* this place is at the southern side of Himavat Parvata in the Vrishakhandaka. This deity gave boon to Ravana on his doing penance which made him the most powerful in the land. Parali near Hingoli in the Dekhan seems to claim preference over the rest.

6. Bhimasankaram

It is in the fort at the village of Bhavargiri, Khed Taluk, Poona District, at a height of 3448 feet above sea level. Here the River Bhima or Chandrabhaga rises. The sloka on it says that the place was worshipped by Dākini and Sākini. Perhaps it was originally inhabited by the aboriginal hill tribes.

7. Ramesvaram

This is a place known to every Hindu. It is an island between South India and Ceylon in the Gulf of Mannar. Ramanathaswami is the name of the Deity. Sri Rama on his return from the conquest of Lanka, established a Linga and worshipped it to expiate the sin of killing the Rakshasas of Lanka. Sethu is the bridge which Rama built to cross the

sea to Lanka. The northerners go to this place in huge numbers. The temple is very large and very rich.

8. Nagesam

This is said to be in Dārukāvanam and is also called Nāganātham in Sadanga Nagaram in the South. It is difficult to locate this place for there are nearly ten places which go by the name of Naga. Dārukāpuram is another name of Sankara Nayanar Koil in Tinnevelly District. There are places in Tanjore, Salem, Travancore, Chingleput and Tinnevelly which have towns with the Naga appellations and deities with similar names, not speaking of Nagpur and other places in Central Provinces. According to *Siva Purāṇam* at this place Siva destroyed the sacrifices made by the Dārukāvanam Rishis who followed anti-Vedic rites.

9. Visvesam

It is at Vāranāsi (Benares). Benares or Kāsi is a household name of every Hindu. It stretches crescent-like with palatial Ghats for several miles along the sacred River Ganges. A Hindu would like to breathe his last at this place, so that he might enter heaven. From time immemorial it is a religious and philosophical centre where religious teachers including the famous Buddha delivered discourses on religion. Sāranāth, the famous Buddhist centre, is nearby. The Hindu University is located here. Viśveśvara, the God of the Universe, is the cynosure towards which every Hindu can turn his eyes without distinction of caste or creed.

10. Tryambaka

On the Western Ghats or Sahyadri, twenty miles west of Nasik, the temple is on the river Godavari. Once in twelve years a great festival is held when Jupiter enters the constellation Leo.

11. Kedaram

This is a temple on the Himalayas in the Garhwal District, of the United Provinces. The peak on whose side the temple is located is a snowy one of about 22,853 feet above sea level. At five places called Pānch Kedār, Siva is said to have left portions of his body, the principal being Kedārnāth. Nearby

there is a precipice called Bhairab Jhamp where devotees sacrificed their lives to attain salvation by throwing themselves down from it. Now the practice does not exist.

12. Ghrishnesam

This is said to be at Ilapuri. It is difficult to identify this place. Uttarakan̄da of *Rāmāyaṇa* mentions an episode of Śiva and one Ila near the Himalayas. It may be therefore a place near the Himalayas. But the South Indian version is that the twelfth Lingam is merely a combination of all the previous eleven Lingams and hence without any specific name it is called Śivālayam. But as *Śiva Purāṇam* gives twelve distinct names, the twelfth also should be a separate one unconnected with others.

As regards the twelve minor or Upa Lingams, I give their names. It is rather difficult to identify them without much research and study. A Hindu who visits all these twelve places will certainly become an adept in knowledge and free from sins being purified by such varied experience as aptly expressed in the final śloka.

Sloka :

*Etāni jyotirlingāni sāyam prātaḥ pathennarāḥ |
Saptajanmakritam pāpam smaraṇena vinasyati. ||*

(The list is taken from the 38th Chapter of *Siva Purāṇam*.)

<i>Jyotiṛ Lingams.</i>	<i>Upa Lingams.</i>
1. Someśvara.	Andhakeśvara.
2. Mallikārjuna.	Bhrugarkachata.
3. Mahākālā.	Dugdheśa.
4. Omkāra.	Kardhaneśvara.
5. Kedāra.	Bhuteśa.
6. Bhimaśankara.	Bhimeśvara.
7. Viśveśvara.	Sharanyeśvara.
8. Tryambaka.	Siddeśvara.
9. Vaidyanātha.	Vaijanātha.
10. Nageśvara.	Bhuteśvara.
11. Rāmeśam.	Gupteśvara.
12. Ghrishneśa.	Vyaghreśvara.

SOME SOUTH INDIAN POETESSES

BY K. RAGHAVACHARYULU, M.A., B.L.

LITERARY genius makes no distinction of time, place or sex. पुराणमिल्येव न साधु सर्वे sings the immortal bard Kālidāsa in his *Mālavikāgnimitra*. Śaktibhadra in his *Āścharyachūḍāmaṇi* says that merit is the only criterion, not the division of the country to which the author belongs 'गुणः प्रमाणं न दिशां विभागः'. We have already seen how Rājaśekhara and Vātsyāyana declared that poetry was not the sole monopoly of the male sex.¹ South India has its share in the development of Sanskrit literature and the names of Mahendra Vikrama Varman, Śaktibhadra, Vidyānātha, Appaya Dikṣita, Vedānta Deśika, Veṅkaṭādhwarin, Nilakanṭha and a score of others shine forth as stars of the first magnitude in the literary firmament. The finer sex has not been found lacking in arts and accomplishments. Tradition and verses ascribed to Rājaśekhara point to Vijjikā the authoress as having a South Indian origin though the authorship of *Kaumudīmahotsava* is still open to doubt.

1. Gangādevi

First and foremost among South Indian Poetesses has to be mentioned Gaṅgādevi, the author of *Madhuravijayam* or *Virakamparāya Charitam*.² The work describes the conquests of Kampana, the son of Bukka, one of the founders of the Vijayanagar Empire. Kampana defeated Champarāya of Tundiramaṇḍala or Tondaimandala about 1361 A.D. and the available work which runs to eight cantos stops with his conquest of the Sultan of Madura. Gaṅgādevi, the authoress, is described as a keep of Kampana by Mr. J. Ramayya Pantulu³ while Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar⁴ refers to her as a wife of

¹ Refer to my article on "Vijjikā" in the *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XXIV, Part 2.

² Published by Pandits G. Hariharā Sastri and V. Sriñivasa Sastri at Trivandrum in 1916.

³ *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. II, Parts 3 and 4.

⁴ *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 23.

Kamparāya. Verses 39 to 41 of canto VII are important in this connection :

अथ कम्पनृपोऽपि कृत्यवित् कृतसन्ध्यासमयोचितक्रियः ।

अवदत् सविद्ये स्थितां प्रियां भुवि गङ्गेत्यभिनन्दिताह्वयाम् ॥ (39)

कमलाक्षि ! कटाक्ष्यतामयं समयो वर्णनया रसाद्विद्या ।

जन एष वचस्तवामृतं श्रवसा पाययितुं कुतह्ली ॥ (40)

इति सा दायितेन भाषिता दरनग्रं दधती मुखाम्बुजम् ।

वदति स्म शनैः शुचिस्मिता सरसोदारपदां सरस्वतीम् ॥ (41)

These coupled with the colophon which reads thus :
इति श्रीगङ्गादेव्या विरचितं . . . would seem to indicate that Gaṅgādevī was a queen of Kampana rather than his concubine.

In the Introduction to the work, Gaṅgādevī praises Kriyāśaktiguru, Vālmiki, Vyāsa, Kālidāsa, Bāṇa, Bhāravi, Daṇḍin, Bhavabhūti, Karṇāmr̥takavi, Tikkaya, Agastya, Gaṅgādhara and Viśwanātha. Her verse describing Kālidāsa is very significant and points out how later poets borrowed actually their ideas and expression from the writings of the immortal bard.

दासतां कालिदासस्य कवयः के न विभ्रति ।

इदानीमपि तस्यार्थानुपजीवन्त्यमी यतः ॥ (1-7)

Canto I of the work after the usual invocations describes the city of Vijayanagar and the reign of Bukka. Cantos II and III describe the birth of Kampana, his growth to manhood and the exhortation of Bukka to proceed against Champarāya of Conjeevaram. Canto IV deals with the expedition, the defeat and death of Champarāya. Canto V describes Prince Kampana's camp at Marakatanagara and cantos VI and VII his life and enjoyments in camp. Particularly the latter canto describes his conversation with the authoress Gaṅgādevī referred to above and her description of the spring season. In canto VIII, a goddess appears before Kampana and exhorts him to proceed against Madura and uproot the Mussulman power in the south. Kamparāya accordingly proceeds against the Sultan of Madura and kills him. The manuscript breaks off at this point and we are not in a position

to say into how many cantos the work originally ran or what its further contents were. The editors of the work think and reasonably too that, as the book is styled *Madhurāvijayam*, it would not run more than a canto beyond the available work.

The style of *Madhurāvijaya* is elegant, easy flowing and free from pedantry or rhetoric. The work abounds in descriptions which clearly show that her poetic fancy was of a very high order. Her diction is beautiful and shows traces of influence of classical poets especially of Kālidāsa. The following verses would amply illustrate the force of the above remarks regarding Gangādevī's poetry :

गुणं विहाय काव्येषु दुष्टो दोषं गवेषते ।
वनेषु त्यक्तमाकन्दः काको निम्बमपेक्षते ॥ (1-20)

यदज्ञनासुखाभ्योजलावण्यालाभलज्जितः ।
कलङ्कच्छद्धना चन्द्रो व्यनक्ति हृदयव्यथाम् ॥ (1-61)

यत्र कामभूवामेव काठिन्यं स्तनमण्डले ।
कौटिल्यं कबरीभारे काश्यं मध्ये च दृश्यते ॥ (1-65)

कमलोदरसंभृतं करैर्मधुं पीत्वा रविरुज्जिताम्बरः ।
स्पृशति स्त दिशं प्रचेतसो न मदः कस्य विकारकारणम् ॥ (7-5)

उड्हुपुष्पकरम्बितं तमः कचभारं दधती निशीथिनी ।
आचिरादियमन्वपालयत् कुमुदस्मेरमुखी निशाकरम् ॥ (7-33)

Apart from being a great kāvya, the *Madhurāvijaya* supplies us with some historical material referring to Bukka I and Kampana. We learn that Bukka I had a wife *Devayi* and had by her three sons Kampana, Kampana the junior and Sangama. The invocation to Guru Kriyāśakti would seem to show that some of the early kings of Vijayanagar were Śaivas of the Śrikanṭhāgama sect and that they were not as yet disciples of Vidyāraṇya. As such, Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, in his introduction to the work, opines that Vidyāraṇya was not the founder of the Vijayanagar Empire and that his priesthood of, or domination over, the kings of Vijayanagar was achieved at or about the time when *Kamparāyacharitam* was composed. This theory is open to grave doubts. Tradition and inscriptional evidence as regards the origin of the Vijayanagar

Empire and the part played by Vidyāranya in the founding of the capital city would seem to indicate that some of the early sovereigns of the empire though followers of the Śaivāgama schools must have held Vidyāranya and his advaitic followers in great reverence. The authenticity of the Kapalūru grant and the Canarese Inscriptions which throw light on the origin of the empire has been sufficiently discussed by Historians and most of them have adopted the view that Vidyāranya was really responsible for the founding of the city though the opposite view still finds favour with some.

The work again mentions that Champarāya of Conjeevaram was killed by Kampana. This is against the testimony of Sanskrit works like *Sāluvābhuyudaya* and *Rāmābhuyudaya* and Telugu works like *Jaimini Bhāratam* and *Varāhapurāṇam* which state that he was only defeated and reduced to vassalage. Evidently this is a poetic flight of the authoress Gaṅgādevi.

Madhurāvijayam confirms the local chronicles and the *History of Tinnevelly* by Caldwell in mentioning the conquest of Madhurā by Kampana and the defeat of the Mussulmans. The followers of Malik Kafur ruled Madhurā for about 50 years after 1312 A.D. until it was wrested from them by Kampana. Another significant fact which throws a good light on the epigraphical evidence of the period is the existence of two sons of Bukka by name Kampana. The epigraphical material referring to Chikka Kampana, Hiriya Kampana or Kumāra Kampana has to be sifted in the light of this information.

2. Tirumalāmbā

Next in order of chronology comes Tirumalāmbā, the authoress of *Varadāmbikāparinayam*.⁵ The work is a Champū Kāvya, relating to the youth of Achyutadevarāya and his marriage with Varadāmbikā and the birth of China Veṅkataḍri. The book ends with the installation of China Veṅkataḍri as heir-apparent. The work *Achyutarāyābhuyudaya* of Rājanātha Dīṇḍima begins with the coronation of Achyuta and the installation of China Veṅkataḍri as heir-apparent and as

⁵ A copy of the work is in the Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.

such is complimentary to the subject-matter of *Varadāmbikāparinayam*. The latter work can thus be ascribed to a period about 1530 A.D. the year of Achyutarāya's accession.

Varadāmbikā was the daughter of Salakarāja and her brothers the two Tirumalas seem to have wielded a great influence in the court of Achyuta. Achyutarāya had another queen Tirumalāmbā (though *Varadāmbikāparinayam* is silent about it) whose sister Mūrthimāmbā was given in marriage to Chevva, the founder of the Tanjore Naik dynasty.

The work *Varadāmbikāparinayam* gives the genealogy of Achyuta's family and describes the campaigns of Narasa his father. The colophon at the end of the work describes her accomplishments. She is said to be greatly admired by Achyutarāya for her achievements. Epigraphical collection No. 9 of 1904 refers to one Oduva Tirumalamma who is said to have composed a verse on the occasion of the gift of "Swarnameru" by Achyutarāya. *Achyutarāyābhuyudaya* corroborates the gift of "Swarnameru" by Achyutarāya at the time of his coronation (canto 3-50). It can be safely assumed that the author of *Varadāmbikāparinayam* is the same as the lady referred to in Epigraphical Collection No. 9 of 1904, but details about her life or parentage are lacking. The historical material contained in the work has been noticed at pages 170-172 of the *Sources of Vijayanagar History* by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar. The style though not so easy and elegant as that of *Madhuravijaya* is still vigorous and forcible. The following verses may be taken to be illustrative of it:

अनन्यसामान्यगुणादिसान्दः तदन्ववायर्णवपूर्णचन्दः ।
कौशेयसाक्षीकृतवीरलक्ष्मीकरप्रहोऽभूद्धुवि तिम्मभूपः ॥
स्थिरे जे सेतुरकारि पूर्वं तदद्भुतं नेति कवेरजायाः ।
सेतुं प्रवाहेषु गुणाभिरामः चित्ते सतामद्भुतमप्यबधात् ॥

3. Rāmabhadrāmbā

The Naik rulers of Tanjore and Madura and the latter Marāṭha rulers of Tanjore were great patrons of Sanskrit and Telugu literature. They not only produced works in Telugu

and Sanskrit but also encouraged in their courts a number of poets and poetesses many of whose works have come down to us. Raghunātha, the son of Achyuta Naik, is the hero of the poem *Raghunāthābhyaudaya* by Rāmabhadrāmbā. A copy of the manuscript is found in the Tanjore Library. Raghunātha was himself the author of *Rāmāyanam* and *Vālmiki Charitam* in Telugu and of *Saṅgīta Sudhā* and other works in Sanskrit. His son Vijayarāghava wrote in Telugu Dvipāda metre a work *Raghunāthābhyaudaya* and a *Yakshagāna* of the same name celebrating the life and victories of his father. Raghunātha Naik was the patron of Chemakūra Veṅkaṭakavi whose Telugu work *Vijayavilāsamu* has attained immortal fame in the field of letters. The names of Govinda Dikshita, the minister and author of *Sāhitya Sudhā*, his son Yajñanārāyaṇa Dikshita, the author of *Sāhityaratnākara*, Srinivāsa Dikshita alias Ratnakheta and his son Rājachūḍāmaṇi Dikhsita, the author of *Rukminipariṇayam* sufficiently demonstrate the cultural greatness of the Naik rulers of Tanjore.

Raghunāthābhyaudaya is a work of twelve cantic and in canto I, the authoress praises Raghunātha for his literary productions and describes him as her lord:

रसप्रधानान् रघुनाथनेतुः प्रबन्धभेदान्मम श्रावयन्त्याः ।

प्राण्डनिर्भिन्नोनककविप्रबन्धप्रस्तावनाय प्रभवेन्मतिः किम् ॥ (1-9)

शब्दार्थग्रोर्मर्म समप्रधानं वशंवदं यस्य वदन्ति सर्वे ।

कृती स एवात्र कृतौ सहायो नाथो मम श्रीरघुनाथनामा ॥ (1-10)

Canto VI gives the history of his family and cantos VII to X describe his victories over Cholaga, the Portuguese of Jaffna and Jaggaraja. Cantos XI and XII describe his amusements in court with his poets and musicians. No details are forthcoming of the poetess Rāmabhadrāmbā also, except that she was patronized by Raghunātha and claims him as her lord (1-10). The colophon says that she acquired her learning by the favour of God Rāmabhadra and that she has been installed on the throne of Sāhitya Sāmrājya or the kingdom of letters :

इति श्रीरामचन्द्रकरुणाकटाक्षलवधसारसारस्वतप्रवर्धमान शतलेखिनीसमय-

लोखिनयिष्ठभाषाकल्पितचतुर्विधकवितानुप्राणितसाहित्यसाम्राज्यपदपीठारूढ रामभद्रा-
म्बाविरचिते रघुनाथाभ्युदये महाकाव्ये द्वादशः सर्गः समाप्तः ॥

The poetry of Rāmabhadrāmbā is far superior to that of *Varadāmbikāparinaya* and approaches that of *Madhuravijaya* in poetic fancy and elegance. The following verses are illustrative of the style of the work :

प्राकारचारिभट्टमुक्तशिलाकलापवृष्ट्या सधूमविसरो वियति व्यलोकि ।

पाषाणवर्षपरिपूरितदिग्विभागा कल्पान्तदुस्सहघना घनमण्डलीव ॥ (8-92)

वेलापथे तस्य विभोर्गजानां कर्णानिलैः केतकगर्भरेणुः ।

प्रसारितस्तत्र पयःपयोधिमाकल्पयन्तं लवणाम्बुराशिम् ॥ (9-3)

4. Madhuravāṇī.

Besides Rāmabhadrāmbā, there was a lady called Madhuravāṇī in the court of Raghunātha Naik who translated the Telugu *Rāmāyaṇam* of her patron into Sanskrit. It is said that she was originally called Śukavāṇī and that Madhuravāṇī was the title bestowed upon her :

चतुरमधुरवाणीं सम्यगाकर्ण्य यस्याः

सदसि मधुरवाणीनाम दत्तं त्वयैव ।

सरसकृतिविधायां साधुमेधाविशेषा-

स्वधिकपदुरशेषा स्वम्बुजाक्षीषु सैषा ॥

The anonymous verse

आकरिण शशी, गिरा परमृतः, पारावतश्चुम्बने

in the *Subhāshitāvali* is ascribed by Peterson to Madhuravāṇī on the authority of the work *Subhāshitahārāvali*. She is said to be a very accomplished lady like Rāmabhadrāmbā belonging to the courtesan class. She describes in the following verses that the court of Raghunātha was full of ladies of very high accomplishments in literature and fine arts :

चातुर्यमेति कवितासु चतुर्विधासु

वीणाकलाप्रकटने भवति प्रवीणा ।

प्रज्ञामियं निपुणमञ्चति पाणिनीये

मेधां व्यनक्ति बहुधा विविधावधाने ॥

वीणागानकलाविनोदसमये धृत्वा समस्याशतं ।

सद्यसंसदि साधु पूरयति या दत्ताः कविन्द्रैस्त्या ॥

विषक्षिकायां चतुराः प्रगल्भाः शास्त्रेतिदक्षाः सरसप्रबन्धे ।
 समीपमेतस्य समेत्य केऽपि सुभूजनाः खस्त्रकला विवृष्ट्वन् ॥
 सर्वोत्तरस्वादिमसंस्कृतान्ध्रप्रबन्धनिर्माणपचेलिमानि ।
 यशांसि भूयांस्यवतारयन्त्यः सहस्राः सन्ति सरोजनेत्राः॥

5. Sundari and Kamalā.

As has been already referred to, the Maratha Rajahs of Tanjore were equally great lovers of Sanskrit literature as the Naik kings of Madura and Tanjore. Trukkoji (1729-35 A.D.), one of the early Maratha rulers of Tanjore, was himself the author of a work called *Saṅgīta Sārāmr̥ta*. His Minister (*Gṛhāmātya*) was Ghanaśyāma Paṇḍita, well known as the author of a commentary on *Uttararāmacharita* of Bhavabhūti. He is said to have written sixty-four works on various subjects. His wives were Sundari and Kamalā, accomplished in arts and literature. Ghanaśyāma refers to them in his commentaries on *Uttararāmacharita* and *Viddhasālabhañjikā*. The commentary on the latter work was called *Prāṇapratishṭhā* (प्राणप्रतिष्ठा). The two ladies Sundari and Kamalā also wrote a commentary on the drama *Viddhasālabhañjikā* called *Chamatkāratarāṅgiṇī* (चमत्कारतराङ्गिणी) available in the Tanjore collection. They wrote the following verse as a justification for attempting another commentary on *Viddhasālabhañjikā* :

कृता व्युत्पन्नसिद्धेभ्यो नाथवादैरविस्तरा ।
 प्राणप्रतिष्ठा या तस्य मूलस्याप्यर्थदैव या ॥
 सुन्दरीकमलाभ्यां सा व्युत्पन्नानां सुवोधने ।
 इयं प्रणीयते टीका चमत्कारतराङ्गिणी ॥

Mr. V. A. Ramaswami Sastri in his article on "Ghanaśyāma"⁶ calls the commentary *Sundarikamaliyam*. If so, the words चमत्कारतराङ्गिणी might be taken as a mere description of the work.⁷

⁶ *Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. III, pp. 231-243.

⁷ For information on Ghanaśyāma and his family refer besides the above article "The Maratha Rajahs of Tanjore" by K. R. Subramanyam, p. 41, and the note by Prof. P. V. Kane in his introduction to *Uttararāmacharita*, pp. 31-32.

JAINA VESTIGES IN THE PUDUKOTAH STATE

BY S. R. BALASUBRAHMANYAN, M.A., L.T.
AND
K. VENKATARANGA RAJU

II. Tenimalai

TENIMALAI is the name of a hill about 18 miles north-west of Pudukōtah town. It is in the Tirumeyyam Taluk of the State. It was one of the centres of the Jains in the past, and was known as Tēnūrmalai according to an inscription found here:

On the southern slope of this hill, there is a natural cavern, which has been adapted as an abode for Jain ascetics. West of the cave and about 15 feet from its ground-level, there is the figure of a Tirthaikara with triple-umbrellas overhead. Below this figure there is an inscription in archaic Tamil which mentions that the image was set up by Śri Valla Udāna Ceruvotṭi (No. 10 of the Inscriptions of the Pudukōtah State).

On a boulder about 50 feet away to the east of this hill is another inscription in archaic Tamil. It refers to a gift of land as *pallikandam* in favour of Malaiyadvaja, a Jain ascetic, by Irukkuvēl—perhaps a local chief of Kodumbālūr (No. 9 of the Inscriptions).

As the inscriptions are in archaic Tamil characters and as there is no mention of a ruler of the Pallava or Pāṇḍya imperial line, it is likely that the local chief—Irukkuvēl—belonged to a period prior to the 7th century A.D.

APPENDIX

Inscription No. 10.—

1. Svasti sri sri val
2. la udana ceruvo
3. t̄ti ceyvitta
4. tirumēni.

Translation.—Hail Prosperity ! This is the sacred figure set up by Sri valla udana ceruvoṭṭi.

Inscription No. 9.—

1. Svasti sri malaiyadhwajan tē
2. nūr malai-il, tavañje-
3. yekkaṇḍu iṛukku-
4. vēl vandrittu avippu-
5. rañjeyda pañlicanda-
6. ṣ nālēkāl || ivvarañgā
7. ttān adi nittañ-cenni
8. ni ala.

Translation.—Hail Prosperity ! Iṛukkuvēl after having worshipped (the Jain ascetic) Malaiyadhwaja who was doing penance on the Tenūr hill, made a grant of $4\frac{1}{2}$ units of land (ma's ?) as pañlicandam for supply of food (avi). May the feet of the protector of this charity be always on my head.

THE UPANISHADS OF THE ATHARVA-VEDA

BY N. K. VENKATESAN

“ चतुर्णामपि वेदानां . . . उपनिषददिश्वारः ॥ ”

(शुक्रहस्योपनिषद्.)

VEDIC RELIGION falls into two distinct divisions, the one dealing with our daily conduct in life and the other with incessant speculation on the ultimate values of life. While the Vedas deal with both the divisions, the value of the Upanishads lies in the fact that they lay stress on the particular aspects of the Vedic religion which appealed to the individuals who practised and speculated on the religion and philosophy propounded in the four Vedas. The Upanishads or the philosophic and esoteric manuals of thought bearing on the four Vedas—Atharva, Sāma, Yajur and Rig—are a hundred and eight in number, as specified in the *Muktikopanishad* of the *Sukla-Yajur-veda*, propounded by Sri Rāma to his most devoted disciple Māruti or Hanumān. Of these 108 Upanishads, 10 belong to the *Rig-veda*, 19 to the *Sukla-Yajur-veda*, 32 to the *Krishna-Yajur-veda*, 16 to the *Sāma-veda* and 31 to the *Atharva-veda*. Topically arranged these Upanishads might be thus classified. 39 belong to the “*Jnāna Kānda*”, and 62 belong to the “*Karma Kānda*”, while 7 deal with miscellaneous topics associated with the “*Karma Kānda*”. It might be interesting to notice at the outset that while ordinarily it is believed that the Upanishads are primarily philosophical and speculative in their topical interest, on actual examination it would be realised that the Upanishads which deal with the “*Karma Kānda*” or our daily conduct in life are greater in number than those that deal with purely metaphysical speculation. The undue predominance given to the metaphysical value of the Upanishads is due not a little to the change in the trend of modern thought in India, consequent on the great movement of Vedāntic Revival set afoot by the great Āchāryas, Sankara, Rāmānuja and Madhwa. The stress laid by these great teachers on the

metaphysical interpretation of Vedic religion, was necessitated by the wave of opposition that passed over the country at that time, owing to the influence of Buddhism which discounted the ritualistic value of the Vedic religion and set a premium on the escape from ritualism in order that one might attain salvation. In order to stem the tide of Buddhistic thought, it was necessary for Sankara to attack the various doctrines opposed to Vedic-philosophic canons and for this purpose he took the "Ten Upanishads" as the basis for his speculation and wrote elaborate commentaries on them. In later times though Rāmānuja and Madhwa considerably modified the mould of thought in the Bhāshyas of Sri Sankarāchārya and attempted to attach greater and increasing values to the "conduct" side of life "beside the wisdom" side of it, the history of thought in India underwent a clear change towards speculation and "renunciation" and receded from "practical ritualism" and "attachment to life". This change is much to be regretted because it produced a clear cleavage in the Aryan community. While the "speculators" grew larger and larger in number, thus reducing the number of "ritualists", it had one unfortunate effect on the country's wider interests. The followers of Vedic religion began to consider "ultimate renunciation" or Sanyāsa as the best end of human life and "Karma" to be the means and even to be the "necessary evil" with the aid of which jnāna and moksha had to be secured for the individual. This change in the value given to life has been responsible more or less for the social, political, economic and spiritual decay of the Aryan community during the past two thousand years very nearly. A close study of the Upanishads, however, relates quite a different tale. The ten Upanishads form a very small and insignificant part of the Upanishadic literature. It is necessary to closely analyse all the Upanishads in order to find out the real import of the mass of literature contained in the Upanishads.

In the 108 Upanishads, two distinct phases of thought are clearly observable. The stress is differently laid on the different aspects of life in the various Upanishads. In general

it might be stated that the Upanishads of the *Atharva-veda* lay stress on the "upāsana" or the meditation side of life, those of the *Krishna-Yajur-veda* on the "upāsana" and "jnāna" sides of life, those of the *Sukla-Yajur-veda* on the value of "renunciation or sanyāsa", those of the *Sāma-veda* on the "exterior aspects" of religion, while those of the *Rig-veda* which are the least in number, merely echo the phases of thought in the *Yajur-veda* and the *Atharva-veda*.

Of the well-known ten Upanishads, 3 belong to the *Atharva-veda*, viz., *Praśna*, *Muṇḍaka* and *Māṇḍūkya*, 2—*Īśa* and *Brihadāraṇyaka*—to the *Sukla-Yajus*, 2—*Kaṭha* and *Taittirīya*—to the *Krishna-Yajus*, 2—*Kena* and *Chāndogya*—to *Sāma-veda*, and 1—*Aitareya*—to *Rig-veda*. In the *Mukti-kopanishad* we are told that the study of the *Māṇḍūkya* alone leads one to "mumukshutvam" or liberation from the bondage of life. The Sanyāsins value this Upanishad most and the commentary on this by Sri Sankarāchārya is the text for their daily meditation on the supreme spirit or Brahman.

In the *Praśna Upanishad* we are told of the manifestation of Brahman in the worldly creation, of the "prāṇa" or life—the essence of created existence, of Purusha who is manifest in the movements in the body, of the relationship between the different grades of consciousness in the manifested being, of the Paramātman who is equivalent to Praṇava or aum and of the sixteen "Kalās" or "rays" of "Purusha". This Purusha is the "Ego" or "I" and all the 16 "Kalās" go back to "Paramātman," even as "all rivers lose themselves, their names, and forms in the sea". This Upanishad of the *Atharva-veda* makes an analysis of "self", Purusha and equates the "soul" with Praṇava.

The *Atharvaśikhopanishad* prescribes the meditation of "Praṇava" or "aum" and makes its four feet—ā-ū-ṁ, and $\frac{1}{2}$ matra equal to the four Vedas and gives the mode of meditation as aum (1), aum (2), aum (3), (1, 2, 3, standing for the "mātra kāla" or length of pronunciation of the sound).

The *Muṇḍakopanishad* deals with the merits of the Karma-Mārga as was followed in the Treta Yuga and emulates the

Jnāna-Mārga as superior to the Karma-Mārga and like the *Praśnopaniṣad* equates Paramātman with aum and makes aum, the Dhanus (the bow) and the Jīva, the Bāṇa (the arrow), with Parabrahman as the lakṣhya or aim of the shot. All the Nāḍis (nerves) of the body are likened to the spokes of a wheel, which end at the centre, the heart. It further says that the knowledge of Paramātman is obtained through yoga and qualities like Ahimsā, Satya, Brahmacharya, Tyāga, Śama, Dama, etc. Jivātman and Paramātman are both in us, the former taking part in the joys and sorrows of life, the latter remaining as a mere witness unmoved by the experiences of life. The Brahma-jnānin, says this Upaniṣad, becomes one with Parabrahman, as the air of the pot becomes one with the air of the atmosphere and as the image of the sun is lost when the reflecting medium is removed.

The *Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad* concentrates on the syllable aum and analyses its four parts—ă-ű-ă- $\frac{1}{2}$ matra and gives them separate occult existences in the names of Vaiśvānara, Taijasa, Prajna, and Ātma. Thus all the four Upaniṣads, the three Praśna, Mundaka and Māṇḍūkya with the addition of Atharvaśikha deal with the Praṇava and make meditation on the Praṇava, the means to wisdom and liberation from the bondage of life.

The two minor Upaniṣads—*Annapūrṇopaniṣad* and *Ātmopaniṣad*—deal with Vedāntic speculation. The *Annapūrṇopaniṣad* deals with five sorts of illusions regarding life and answers them; makes moksha equivalent to giving up sanga (association) and bandha (binding), expatiates on Videha-mukti and Jivan-mukti and ultimately prescribes Prāṇāyāma (a yogic device) as the means to salvation. The *Ātmopaniṣad* analyses Purusha into three parts : Ātman, Antarātman and Paramātman. In these six Upaniṣads of the *Atharva-veda*, we really pass through three phases of thought : viz., (1) meditation on the sound of aum, (2) the realization of its oneness with Paramātman, (3) the thought that salvation lies through yoga abhyāsa (Prāṇāyāma). The three basic notions of the Jnāna-Kānda are thus dealt with in the six Atharva-

Upanishads reviewed above. Beside these, it is interesting to compare the Upanishads of the other Vedas which bear on this topic. The topical interest of these Upanishads might be thus summarised :—

I. *Sāma-veda* :—

- (1) *Kena* deals with the greatness of Brahman as opposed to the senses.
- (2) *Chāndogya* deals with the Ātman as equivalent to Brahman.
- (3) *Maitrāyani* deals with Ātma-jnāna.
- (4) *Maitreyi* deals with Nirguna-vidyā and Vairāgya.

II. *Krishna-Yajur-veda* :—

- (1) *Kaṭha* deals with Ātma-jnāna.
- (2) *Taittiriya* deals with Brahmavichāra in three vallis—Śiksha, Bhṛgu and Ānanda.
- (3) *Brahma* deals with Praṇava.
- (4) *Amṛta Bindu* deals with Nirvishayatva.
- (5) *Sarva-sāra* deals with Bandha and Moksha.
- (6) *Brahma-vidya* with meditation of Praṇava and Hamsa (ओं—हृस).
- (7) *Śarīraka* deals with Jivan-mukti.
- (8) *Avadhūta* deals with the Mahāvākyas.
- (9) *Varāha* deals with general Vedāntic enquiry.

III. *Sukla-Yajur-veda* :—

- (1) *Īśavaśya* deals with Ātma-jnāna.
- (2) *Bṛhad-āranyaka* deals with Jnāna, Brahman, Gāyatri, etc.
- (3) *Nirālamba* deals with Brahmavichāra.
- (4) *Adhyātma* deals with the knowledge of Nārāyaṇa.
- (5) *Muktika* gives the names of 108 Upanishads and Rāma preaches Brahmajnāna to Ānjaneya.

(There is distinct Vaishnavite tinge in 4 and 5 above.)

IV. *Rig-veda* :—

- (1) *Aitareya* deals with Ātman as equivalent to Prajna.
- (2) *Kaushitaki* deals with Brahma-jnāna.
- (3) *Ātma-Bodha* deals with the Praṇava and Mukti.
- (4) *Nirvāṇa* deals with Jnāna.

After a close study of all these Upanishads, one conclusion is clear that while the Upanishads dealing with Vedānta-vichāra in the *Sāma*, *Yajur*, and *Rig-vedas* deal with the general enquiry of Brahman and the means to attain moksha through Jnāna and Vairāgya, the six Upanishads of the *Atharva-veda* make the basis of jnāna and moksha, meditation of the Prāṇava and in the *Māṇḍūkya Upanishad* and the *Atharva-sīkhopanishad*, clear instruction is given for the meditation of the Prāṇava. Thus, these might be said to lead the Vedānta-vichāra contained in the Upanishads of all the Vedas dealing with this topic.

Closely allied with the speculation on the nature of Brahman and the means of knowing and realizing Brahman, is the topic of Vairāgya and Sanyāsa—dissociation from and renunciation of the world and its attractions. It is interesting to note that the lead in this topic is given by the *Sukla-Yajur-veda* Upanishads. Five Upanishads of the *Sukla-Yajur-veda*, viz., Paramahamsa, Bhikshuka, Turiyātītāvadhūta, Yājnavalkya and Śātyayana Upanishads deal with Sanyāsa and Sanyāsa Dharma. The *Rig-veda* does not deal with this topic in any special Upanishad. A short Upanishad known as the *Kaṭha* (not the well-known *Kaṭhopanishad* of the ten Upanishads) deals with Sanyāsa Dharma. Among the *Sāma-veda* Upanishads, four deal with this topic. The *Arunika* deals with Sanyāsa Dharma, the *Mahopanishad* with Vairāgya, the *Sanyāsa* with the six sorts of Sanyāsa and the *Kundika* with the Dharma of the Brahmachārin and the Sanyāsin.

Three Upanishads of the *Atharva-veda* deal with this topic which become all-absorbing in the post-epic and pauranic periods after the advent of Buddha and Sankara. *Nārada Parivrājaka Upanishad* tells us the means to Moksha, the four āśramas and their Dharma, the importance and greatness of Sanyāsa and Jnāna as opposed to Karma, the rituals to be observed before one becomes a Sanyāsin, the four kinds of Sanyāsa based on Vairāgya, Jnāna, Jnāna-vairāgya and Karma-sanyāsa with its two subsidiary kinds—Ātura and Krama. It also deals with the six orders of Sanyāsins—viz., Kuticha, Bahudaka, Hamsa, Paramahamsa, Turiyātīta and

Avadhūta. It also gives the rules and regulations to be observed by the Sanyāsins of all these grades and the Abhyāsa or practice required for attaining moksha. The Upanishad then deals with the meditation of the Praṇava and cuts up the Praṇava with the usual analytic method of the *Atharva-veda* Upanishads, into 8 divisions, 16 mātras, 64 mātras, etc. The Upanishad winds up with a disquisition on Parabrahmasvarūpa. The trend of the whole Upanishad creates the inevitable impression that this Upanishad belongs to a later age and is influenced by the Upanishads of the other Vedas, especially of the *Sukla-Yajus* school.

Closely associated with this Upanishad in topical interest is the *Paramahamsa-parivrājakopanishad* which deals with Jñāna and Brahma-upāsana in relation to four Avasthas or states as described in the *Māndūkyopanishad* and expatiates on the Sanyāsa-āśrama, its rules and regulations as in the *Nārada Parivrājaka*, with this one difference that while the *Nārada Parivrājaka* deals essentially with the Sanyāsa-āśrama and its Dharma, this Upanishad gives a very elaborate treatment to the esoteric value of Praṇava, which might be expressed somewhat in this manner for a bird's-eye-view of the subtlety of thought-analysis in the Upanishad :—

AUM (Praṇava)

<i>a</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>m</i>	$\frac{1}{2}$ mātra
I. <i>Jāgrat.</i>	<i>Svapna.</i>	<i>Sushupti.</i>	<i>Turiya.</i>
i. Viśva-Viśva	i. Taijasa- Viśva,	i. Prajna- Viśva.	i. Turiya- Viśva
ii. Viśva-Taijasa	ii. Taijasa- Taijasa	ii. Prajna- Taijasa.	ii. Turiya- Taijasa.
iii. Viśva-Prajna	iii. Taijasa- Prajna.	iii. Prajna- Prajna.	iii. Turiya- Prajna.
iv. Viśva-Turiya	iv. Taijasa- Turiya.	iv. Prajna- Turiya.	iv. Turiya- Turiya.
II. 16 mātras.			
(1) a-jāgrat-viśva.	(5) Bindu-swapna- viśva.	(9) Śāntāu-sushupti- viśva.	(13) Parū-turiya- viśva.
(2) u-jāgrat-taijasa.	(6) Nāda-swapna- taijasa.	(10) Śāntyatīta- sushupti-taijasa.	(14) Madhyama- turiya-taijasa.
(3) m-jāgrat-prajna.	(7) Kalā-swapna- prajna.	(11) Unmanya-su- shupti-prajna.	(15) Paśyanti- turiya-prajna.
(4) $\frac{1}{2}$ mātra-jāgrat- turiya.	(8) Kalātīta-swap- na-turiya.	(12) Manon-manyā- sushupti- turiya.	(16) Parā-turiya- turiya.

BRAHMA.

This Upanishad appears to be of an earlier origin than the *Nārada-Parivrājaka*; and the *Para-Brahmopanishad* which describes the Brahma-pura, and gives the metaphysical interpretation of and new jnānic values to Śikha, Upavita, etc., appears to be of a distinctly later origin than the other two Upanishads.

From a close examination of the nine Upanishads of the *Atharva-veda*, belonging to the jnāna-kānda, the basis of jnāna and moksha would appear to be the meditation of the Praṇava or aum—the great mystic symbol of the late Vedic and the immediately post-Vedic period. It is in the *Sukla-Yajus* and the *Sāma* Upanishads that the bias for Vairāgya and Sanyāsa appears and this phase of thought seems to belong to the post-epic and pauranic period. The three *Atharva-veda* Upanishads dealing with Sanyāsa seem to belong to this late period of thought evolution.

II

If the lead to the Jnāna-Kānda was given by the *Atharva-śikha* and the *Māṇḍūkya* Upanishads, the lead to the Mantra-sāstra and Upāsana-kānda seems to have been given by the *Sūryopanishad* of the *Atharva-veda*. The earliest Upanishad of the *Atharva-veda* was manifestly directed to Surya, as Vena (Surya) is said to have first descended from Father Atharvan. The *Sūryopanishad* begins as a comment on the *Atharva-Āngirasa* “अथ सूर्याथवाँगिरसं व्याख्यास्यामः”. It gives the three pādas of Gāyatri, with the addition of the Praṇava and gives also the Sūrya-ashtākshari (8 letters) of the *Kathaka-Brāhmaṇa*. This Upanishad must be said to be the connecting link between the Upāsana-kānda and the Jnāna-kānda. It says असाक्षादित्यो ब्रह्म आदित्या—(Surya)—is Brahma; once the principle of meditation on the Praṇava, the Ashtākshari, the Sūrya-Devata, was established as the normal method of upāsana for the realization of Brahman, a host of Upanishads came into existence. In this department of thought and practice, the lead is clearly given by the *Atharva-veda*.

As many as 20 Upanishads of the *Atharva-veda* deal with Upāsana and it is in the growth of this Upanishadic literature that we find the beginnings of the mantra-śāstra. I shall just set forth below succinctly the salient features of these 20 Upanishads of the *Atharva-veda* :—

Upanishad	Devata	Mantra	Special features
1. Sūryopanishad	Sūrya	Ashtākshari (8 letters)	Śākta school (earliest)
2. Atharva Śiras	Rudra	Pranava (aum)	Rudra's greatness is dealt with. Importance of Bhasma dealt with.
3. Śarabha	Rudra		Saivite school
4. Nṛsimha- Tāpini	Nṛsimha	Bijāksharas <i>Chakra</i> and Praṇava	Sarabha-avatār of Śiva, Rudra 4th avatar of Vishnu. Vaishnavite school
5. Tripura- Tāpini	Devi	Devi	
6. Devi	Devi	Mantra	
7. Bhāvana	Devi	Sri Vidyā	
8. Rāma-Tāpini	Rama	Bijākshara and <i>Chakra</i>	Mantra-śāstra. Śākta school (middle phase)
9. Rāma- Rahasya			
10. Sīta	..	..
11. Annapūrṇa	Annapūrṇa	Mantra	
12. Ganapati	Ganapati	Mantra	
13. Bhasma- jabala	..	..	Based on Sūryopanishad. Ganapati form of Śakti. Gāṇapatyā school
14. Mahā-Vākyā	Āditya	Mantra	Deals with Bhasma, Rudrāksha, Śiva- Linga pūja, etc. Āgama period
15. Gopāla-Tāpini	Krishna	Mantra	Vedāntic tenor
16. Krishna	Krishna	Mantra	Pūja of Krishna etc. Āgama period
17. Hayagrīva	Hayagrīva	Mantra	Purānic tenor. Paurānic period
18. Dattātreya	Dattātreya	Mantra	Connected with Mahāvākyas.
19. Garuḍa	Garuḍa	Mantra	Vedāntic tenor
20. Mahā- Nārāyaṇa	Nārāyaṇa	Mantra <i>Chakra</i>	First mention in Śāṅkalyopanishad Against poisons etc. Modern phase of mantra-śāstra
			An extensive and comprehensive Upanishad. Latest phase of Vaishnavite revival

Through these twenty Upanishads, one could trace the growth of thought in relation to upāsana in a somewhat chronological order, more or less as indicated in the above table. We could trace the influence of Sūrya-upāsana and the worship of Rudra (the prominent feature of the *Atharva-veda*) in the first 3 Upanishads (1—3). Passing through the fourth—the Nṛsimha Tāpini relating to the fourth avatār of Vishnu—we arrive at the beginnings of the Śākta school, the middle period

before Rāma-avatār and after Nṛsimha-avatār. To this period belong Upanishads 5, 6 and 7. These were followed by the Upanishads 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 in which we find the influence of the Śākta school. The Upanishads 13 to 20 show the conflict between the Śaivite and the Vaishnavite schools through a long period in which were introduced the āgama worship, the paurāṇic literature of all the five schools of thought—Saura, Śaiva, Śākta, Gāṇapatiya and Vaishṇava.

Beside these *Atharva-Upanishads*, it would be interesting to notice the Upanishads of the other Vedas which deal with

Upanishad	Devata and mantra	Special features
<i>I. Krishna-Yajus</i> i. Kaivalya ii. Śveta-Śvatara iii. Nārāyaṇa iv. Śuka-Rahasya v. Dakshināmūrti vi. Skanda vii. Ekākṣhara viii. Akshi ix. Rudra Hṛdaya x. Pancha Brāhma xi. Prānāgnihotra xii. Kali-Santarana xiii. Saraswati Rahasya	.. .. Ashtākshari .. Dakshināmūrti mantra Hari-Hara Prajāvara Śūrya Rudra and Umā Śiva (5 mantras) .. Rama, Krishna	Saguṇa and Nirguṇa upāsana Nirguṇa upāsana All 4 Vedas summarised Mahāvākyas
<i>II. Sāma-veda</i> i. Avyakta ii. Sāvitri	.. Savītā, Sāvitri, Gāyatri etc., Bala and Ati-Bala mantras	Yajna of body (Śarīra) Based on Śrī-Sūkta
<i>III. Sukla-Yajus</i> i. Jābāla ii. Hamsa iii. Subāla iv. Māntrika v. Paingalā vi. Tāra-sāra	Rudra Hamsa Nārāyaṇa Rāma, Nārāyaṇa and Prajāvara	Mantras, japa, etc. Mantra Sāstra Japa, etc. Hamsa-10 nādas (sounds). Creation dealt with Avyakta-vidya. Mūlaprakṛti as cause of creation
<i>IV. Rig-veda</i> i. Nāda Bindu ii. Aksha-mālīka iii. Tripurā iv. Mudgalā v. Saubhāgya-Lakshmi vi. Babhrūcha	12 mantras of aum .. Devi (Amṛteśvari) Vishnu Lakshmi Devi	Interpretation of 50 letters of alphabet Śrī Vidyā, Śrī Chakra, etc. Purusha-sūkta Names of Devi—creation from Devi

N.B.—All the Upanishads distinctly show the influence of the Upanishads of the *Atharva-veda*.

upāsana and mantra-śāstra. The second place of importance is occupied in this department by the Upanishads of the *Krishna-Yajur-veda*. The names and contents of all the Upanishads I set forth in the preceding table.

For a clear appreciation of the steps by which the conception of upāsana and the mantra-śāstra were evolved in the history of thought during the long period that elapsed between the close of the Vedic period and the modern age of classical Sanskrit literature, I shall give below short summaries of the 20 *Atharva-veda* Upanishads. These Upanishads—all of them belong to the epic, post-epic and paurāṇic periods—represented perhaps roughly by the Treta and Dvāpara Yugas.

(1) *Sūryopanishad* gives Sūrya-ashtākshari and the meditation of Sūrya as Brahman.

(2) *Atharva-Śiras*.—On being asked by the Devas, Rudra tells them “He is all”. The Devas praise Rudra that he is equal to Praṇava—aum. The Upanishad also deals with Pāśupata-vrata and the importance of Bhasma, the symbol of Saivite faith. This Upanishad specially mentions the greatness of the followers of *Atharva-veda*.

(3) *Śarabha*.—In answer to the question, who is the greatest—Brahma, Vishnu or Śiva? the answer is given that *Śarabha*, the avatār of Śiva is greatest. He is spoken of as the ender of Nṛsimha and the world. This Upanishad seems to be the sequel of :—

(4) *Nṛsimha-tāpini-Upanishad* which is an extensive glorification of the incarnation of Vishnu as Nṛsimha. In the Pūrva Bhāga of this Upanishad, we are told that all creation was from Sāma. It gives the Sāvitri-ashtākshari, given in the *Sūryopanishad*, gives the Mahālakshmi mantra of 24 letters, and the mantra of 32 letters, Nṛsimha mantra—for the universal use of all, including women and Śudras, to whom it says mantras like Sāvitri, Praṇava and Lakshmi yajus are not allowed for upāsana. This mantra in anushtubh metre containing 32 letters is reproduced as a śloka in the later Venkatesvara Sahasranāma Stotra in the Brahmānda Purāṇa with slight variation. Then it deals with the Praṇava and

recites the *Māṇḍūkya* Upanishad, the Sāvitri mantra and the Lākshmi yajus. Then it equates in 32 mantras all the manifestations of the universe with Nṛsimha. It proceeds to give the Chakra of 6 letters (Sudarśana), of 8 letters (Gāyatrī), of 12 letters (Vāsudeva), of 16 letters (Māṭrka), of 32 letters (Nṛsimha). The Uttara Bhāga of the Upanishad is devoted to the treatment of aum, the *Māṇḍūkyōpanishad* and equates the upasana of aum, with the Nṛsimha mantra and compares the Praṇava to the seed of a banyan tree which becomes all expansive in its growth.

(5) *Tripura-tāpini* expounds the Śrī-Vidyā, extols Tripura-Bhagavati, gives the fourth pāda of Gāyatrī, extensively deals with the mystic significance of the Gāyatrī mantra, the Śakti mantra, and the Śiva mantra of 32, 44 and 32 letters—totalling 108 letters and equates them all with the 16 letters of Devi and analyses the mantras in relation to Devi and Praṇava.

(6) In the *Devi-Upanishad* the Vedic mantras are taken and analysed; the names of Devi are given and the forms of Devi as *Lakshmi* and (*cf.* जातवेदसे—T. A. X, 2) *Durga* (Agni) are dealt with. This is the pivot of the mantra-sāstra or Śrī Vidyā.

(7) In *Bhāvanopanishad* the human body is compared to Śrī-Chakra; and elaborate mental upāsana of Devi is worked out in this beautiful Upanishad. These three Upanishads form the basis of Śrī-Vidyā.

(8) *Rāma-tāpini* is modelled on the *Nṛsimha-tāpini* and *Tripura-tāpini* and it makes Rāma equal to Parabrahman. It gives the Rāma mantras and also prescribes the worship of the image of Rāma and gives the yantra for pūja—quite in the modern āgamic fashion. The story of Rāma is succinctly related and the panchāyatana of Rāma, *viz.*, Rāma with his three brothers and Sītā is dealt with as equivalent to aum and Mūlaprakṛti (ā is Saumitri, ū is Śatruघna, ṣ is Bharata, half-māṭra is Rāma and Sītā is mūlaprakṛti). Then like the *Nṛsimha-tāpini* the Upanishad gives the Rāma mantras and 47 manifestations of the universe as equivalent to Rāma.

(9) *Rāma Rahasya Upanishad* declares the greatness of Rāma as Parabrahman and Hanumān teaches the devotees of Vishnu, the Rāma mantras, the shaḍakshari, the Rāma chakra and the significance of Rāma Tāraka—*RĀ* of Nārāyaṇa and *MA* of Namas-sivāya making up the great name of *RĀMA*. We are also told in this comparatively modern Upanishad that the Rāma mantra and japa are equivalent to and are based on the Praṇava and its upāsana.

(10) The *Sitopanishad* is the concomitant of the Rāma Rahasya Upanishad and extols the great power of Sītā and with the usual philological analysis characteristic of the *Atharva* Upanishads, the sounds of the word Sītā stand for Satya, Amrita, Māya and Tāra and the whole term Sītā is equivalent to the Praṇava and represents the Mūlaprakṛti, the cause of all creation. Sītā is the cause of Ānanda in association with Rāma. A disquisition on Śakti follows dividing Śakti into Icchā, Kriyā and pure Śakti and gives the sāktaic interpretation of Sītā. Kriyā-śakti is Brahma-svarūpa, the pure Śakti represents all power of action and the Icchā-śakti sits in the form of Śrī-vatsa in the right breast of Vishnu, in three manifestations, Yoga, Bhoga and Vira, viz., the meditating, the enjoying and the activising aspects of Śakti. We are also told in this Upanishad that the *Atharva-veda* has five sākhas or branches, the *Rig-veda*—21, the *Yajur-veda*—109 sākhas. Mention of the Vaikhānasa-mata is found in the Upanishad. The Upanishad is a fine blending of the Śākta and the Vaishnavite phases of thought and interpretations of the God-head.

(11) *Annapūrnā Upanishad* just recites the Annapūrnā mantra and proceeds to expound the Vedāntic doctrines.

(12) *Ganapati Upanishad* is an excellent example of the blending of the language of the earliest Sūryōpanishad and the middle sāktaic doctrine of Brahma-svarūpa. Gaṇapati represents Śakti and has his seat in the Mūlādhāra-chakra. It inculcates the Gaṇesa-vidya, and enunciates the Gaṇapati mantra with the method of meditation, etc. Gaṇapati is said to have been born at the time of creation, immediately

after Prakṛti and Purusha, in consonance with the Saivite doctrine that Gaṇapati is the first born of Śiva and Umā. This Upanishad is a blend of Saivism and Śāktaism.

(13) *Bhasma-jābāla Upanishad* gives Siva Panchākshari and the Siva Ashtākshari mantras and gives the rules for pūja of Siva-Linga and also refers to the use of Bhasma, fully dealt with in *Brihad-jābāla Upanishad*. This belongs clearly to the age of āgamic worship.

(14) *Mahāvākyopanishad* is more or less Vedāntic in its tenor but its value consists in its stressing that Āditya is Brahman and Paramjyoti and refers to the Purusha-sūkta doctrine of creation आदित्यवर्णं तमसस्तु परे, etc.....

We now come to the last set of the most modern Upanishads all belonging to the period of Vaishnavite revival, viz.—

(15) *Gopāla-tāpini*.—This Upanishad says that Krishna is Parabrahman, gives the Krishna mantras, and the prayer to Krishna, in the first part. In the second part, it speaks of the greatness of Krishna-avatāra and the splendour of Dwāraka, goes on to give instructions for the pūja of the image of Krishna, tells us that all creation is from Gopāla, makes the Krishna-bija, *Klim* क्लिं equal to aum and makes Rukmani, the mūlaprakṛti, like Sitā in the *Sitopanishad*, expatiates on Saguṇa and Nirguṇa upāsana and finally sets forth a prayer to Krishna on the lines of *Nṛsimha-tāpini* and the *Rāma-tāpini* Upanishads.

(16) *Krishnopanishad* relates the popular story that in accordance with the promise given by Rāma to the munis, Rāma incarnated himself as Krishna and the munis of the Treta Yuga as the Gopis of the Dvāpara Yuga, to enjoy the constant company of Nārāyaṇa. This Upanishad gives the story of the Krishna avatāra and relates the greatness of Rāma and Krishna avatāras :—

“निगमो वसुदेवो यो वेदार्थः कृष्णरामयोः ॥”

(17) *Hayagrīva Upanishad* gives the Hayagrīva mantra of 29 letters and 34 letters and gives the Bija-akshara *Hsaum*. The aim of the Upanishad is to increase “knowledge” in a person,

(18) *Dattātreya Upanishad* gives the mantras of Dattātreya of one letter, 6, 8, 12 and 16 letters and gives the māla, japa, etc., of Dattātreya. A reference to this avatār is given in the Śāndilyopanishad. The upāsana of Dattātreya is closely connected with “yoga-abhyāsa” and Dattātreya is an Avadhūta-avatār of Nārāyaṇa.

(19) *Garudopanishad* connects the literature of the Upanishads and the mantra-sāstra of the Vedic type with the massive literature which has grown in the modern age in the name of “mantra-sāstra.” The Upanishad gives the Garuḍa mantras, instructions for Garuḍa upāsana, etc., with a view to avert the evil effect of poisons of all sorts. One is forcibly reminded here of the simple hymns of the *Atharva-veda* Samhita used to ward off the evil effects of poisons of all sorts (cf., A.V., IV. 6, 7; V. 13; VI. 12, 100; VII. 56, 88; of these I have often used VII. 56 and found it very efficacious). The language and import of this Upanishad stands in striking contrast with those of the *Atharva-veda* Samhita.

(20) *Mahā Nārāyanopanishad*.—This I consider to be the best product of the Upanishadic literature of the Vaishnavaite school. This Upanishad marks, in my opinion, the culmination of the Upanishadic literature and the starting point of the massive literature of the purāṇas. In the pūrvakānda of this Upanishad, Vishnu tells Brahma the greatness of Nārāyaṇa as the creator of the Universe and also deals with the general aspects of creation and in the uttara-kānda, we are told of the means by which we could reach Vaikunṭha, the eternal abode of Nārāyaṇa. In the Upanishad we are told that Sadāchara, Guru-upadeśa, upāsana and Dhyāna are the means by which Vaikunṭha could be attained by man. A beautiful description is given, even as in the purāṇas of all the lokas leading ultimately to the highest of all lokas, the Vaikunṭha of Nārāyaṇa. For upāsana, the Nārāyaṇa yantra is elaborately and minutely dealt with. It is an elaborate yantra containing in it (1) the praṇava, (2) the single bijāksharas of Nārāyaṇa, Jaganmohana, Varāha, Māya, Manmatha, Agni, Ankuṣa, Sri, (3) the two bijāksharas of Amṛta, (4) the ekākshara

of Nṛsimha and Hayagrīva, (5) the Tryakshari (3 letters) of Nilakanṭha, (6) the Panchākshara (5 letters) of Siva and Garuḍa, (7) the Shaḍakshara (6 letters) of Viṣṇu, Nṛsimha, Rāma, Krishna, and Sudarśana, (8) the Ashtākshara (8 letters) of Nārāyaṇa, Nṛsimha, Rāma, Krishna, Śrikara, Vāmana, Sūrya, (9) the Navākshara (9 letters) of Rāma, Krishna, Hayagrīva, and Dakṣināmūrti, (10) Daśākshara of Rāma and Krishna, (11) the Dwādaśākshara (12 letters) of Nārāyaṇa, Vāsudeva, Mahā Viṣṇu, Rāma, and Krishna, (12) the māṭṛka-panchadasākshari (15 letters of Devi), (13) the Shodasākshari (16 letters) of Krishna and Sudarśana, (14) Ashtadasākshari (18 letters) of Vāmana and Krishna, (15) the Gāyatri (24 letters) of Hayagrīva, Nṛsimha, Sudarśana, Brahma, Rāma, Krishna, Siva, and the Veda (with 4 padas), (16) the Anushtubh mantra (32 letters) of Nārāyaṇa, Hayagrīva, Rāma, and Krishna, (17) the 36 letters of Hayagrīva, (18) the 38 letters of Hayagrīva, (19) the māla of svaras, Sudarśana, Garuḍa, Rāma, and Krishna, (20) the mantras of Lakṣminārāyaṇa, Hayagrīva, Gopāla, Dadhi-Vāmana, Annapūrṇeśvari, Śaranāgata-Nārāyaṇa, Chāturvimsati, Kaushtubha, Viṣhvaksena, Parabrahma, Hamsasoham, Nārāyanāstra, Mahā-Nilakanṭha and Lokapālas, (21) Dvādaśa Vajra and Dvādaśa-kalpaka-taru. Thus the Nārāyaṇa yantra is a comprehensive universal yantra common to all the schools of thought and worship and aims at taking the upāsaka or meditator to the eternal abode of Nārāyaṇa through self-surrender and Bhakti. In the course of this Upanishad, all the deities and mantras in the Upanishadic literature are reproduced with the exception of Gaṇapati mantra given in the Gaṇapati Upanishad. It might be that this particular Upanishad was later than the Mahānārāyaṇopanishad. It cannot be said that the omission was due to Vaishnavite prejudice for in their very Upanishad we find the mantras of Siva and Dakṣināmūrti and in the Gopāla-tāpini Upanishad two of the names of Krishna are given as "Rudra" and "Viṇāyaka". The Upanishad recounts the mahāvākyas, refers to yoga and closes with the statement that the best and the easiest way to reach Vaikunṭha is Bhaktiyoga. The language

of the Upanishad is a mixture of the Upanishadic and the Paurāṇic styles.

In these twenty Upanishads of the *Atharva-veda*, we trace clearly the growth of the mantra-sāstra and upāsana. The *Atharva-veda* Upanishads give a clear lead in this department of thought.

Closely related to upāsana, is the practice of yoga. Yoga-abhyāsa is to upāsana what Sanyāsa is to Jnāna. The one Upanishad of the *Atharva-veda* which deals with the topic of Ashtāṅga-yoga is the Śāndilyopanishad. The Upanishad deals with 10 kinds of yama, 10 kinds of niyama, 8 āsanas, 3 phases of prāṇāyāma, 5 kinds of Pratyāhāra, 3 kinds of Dhāraṇā, 2 kinds of Dhyāna and with Samādhi, where the meditator becomes one with Chaitanya. शुद्धचैतन्यामिका भवति । The Upanishad incidentally refers to the way in which āsana or posture leads to the purification of nādis or nerves of the body and it also deals with the occult physiology of the human body, the nādis, the chakras, the mudras and the vāyus. The Upanishad gives practical instruction for yoga and represents *a*, *u*, *m*, of the prāṇava as Bālagāyatri, Sāvitri and Sarasvati and represents aum, as equal to the Eternal Light (Paramjyoti). Thus it gives yoga a Śāktaic turn. It speaks of the powers obtained by a yogi and the siddhi he obtains through his yoga-drishhti or occult vision. The Upanishad deals with Brahmanavidya, the creation, the preservation, the destruction of the world and refers to the three forms of Brahma,—Nishkala, Sakala and Sakala-nishkala—and makes Dattātreya the yogic embodiment of Brahma. It states that the eternal light was evolved by Anasūya at the bidding of Atri in the form of Dattātreya, for the salvation of humanity. This beautiful Upanishad is the one Upanishad of the *Atharva-veda* which gives to the mantra-sāstra the heroic figure of Dattātreya and shows the new way of yoga to the upāsaka for attaining jīvanmukti through mantra and Daiva upāsana. It is not only by giving up the world and attaining jnāna that moksha could be had, but it could be had also through the practice of yoga and the meditation on the Devatas and mantras as laid

down in these Upanishads. (*Vide* for Dattātreya mantra, upāsana, etc., Narada and *Brahma-vaivarta purāṇas*.)

This phase of thought, viz., Yoga, is fully dealt with in the Upanishads of the *Krishna-Yajur-veda*. The *Garbhopanishad* is a treatise on human physiology, the nādis, the chakra, etc. The *Amṛta-nāda* deals with Yoga and Vairāgya, the *Kshurika* deals with Yoga, the *Tejo-bindu* with Dhyāna, the *Dhyāna-bindu* with Yoga and Praṇava-upāsana. The *Yoga-tattva* deals with Yoga and Jnāna, the *Yogaśikha* with Yoga and Upāsana and the *Yoga-kuṇḍali* with Yoga. However in these Upanishads a striking feature is that Yoga is often mixed up with Vairāgya and Sanyāsa. The two Upanishads of the *Sāma-veda* which deal with Yoga are *Yoga-chūḍāmaṇi* and *Darśana*. The *Sukla-Yajus* Upanishads, *Trisikhi-Brāhmaṇa*, *Maṇḍala-Brāhmaṇa*, deal also with Yoga. The *Sukla-Yajus* Upanishad, *Advaitatāraka*, deals with Yoga and with the importance of the Guru for upāsana and jnāna.

This phase of thought represented by yoga and its practice must be deemed to have arisen in close association with the growth of the mantra-sāstra and upāsana during the long period of thought evolution in the 20 Upanishads of the *Atharva-veda*, reviewed above.

III

Among the 108 Upanishads, there yet remain seven Upanishads dealing with miscellaneous topics which are associated with and subsidiary to upāsana and mantra-sāstra. Of these seven, 4 belong to the *Sāma-veda*, 2 to the *Atharva-veda* and 1 to the *Krishna-Yajur-veda*. The *Akṣamālikā Upanishad* of the *Rig-veda* dealt with under mantra-sāstra, refers to the importance of the Japamāla, its characteristics, etc. The *Kālāgni-Rudra-Upanishad* of the *Krishna-Yajur-veda* deals with Bhasma, its importance and power, the way to use it, etc. The *Vāsudeva Upanishad* of the *Sāma-veda* deals with Pundra—the mark of the upāsaka; the *Rudrākṣa-jābāla* deals with Rudrāksha, its quality, importance, etc. The Jābāla extols Paśupati (Siva) and speaks at length of Rudrāksha, Bhasma, etc. The odd Upanishad of *Sāma-veda*,

known as *Vajra-sūchika* defines a true Brahmin. All these are distinctly Saivite in colour. The two Upanishads of the *Atharva-veda*, which deal with these topics are *Brihad-jābāla* and *Pāśupata-Brāhmaṇa* Upanishads. The *Bhasma-jābālopanishad* also deals with Bhasma, but it has been dealt with under the upāsana Upanishads—as it deals primarily with Siva mantra, Siva-linga pūja, etc.

Brihad-jābālopanishad has eight sections, but it appears that the first six sections promulgated by Kālāgni Rudra to Bhusunde are a bit earlier in origin than the seventh section promulgated by Yajnavalkya to Vaideha-janaka; and the eighth section which recounts the phala of the Upanishad, after the fashion of the later Upanishads.

In the first six sections, we are told about the importance of Vibhūti and of Rudrāksha. Then we are told of the Bhasma-snāna, about Vibhūti-yoga, Bhasma-dhārana, etc. In the seventh section we are told of the Tripundra-vidhi and its phala (cf. Vāsudeva Upanishad of *Sāma-veda*). In this seventh section, we have the tenor of the Paurāṇic style. Janaka and Paippalada went to Prajāpati and asked for instructions about Pundra, etc. Paippalada went to Vaikunṭha and asked Vishnu and approached Kālāgni-Rudra who taught the Upanishad. This incident connects this section with the previous six sections which were all taught by Kālāgni-Rudra to Bhusunde. Similarly, Sanat-Kumāra asked Kālāgni-Rudra to instruct him about the wearing of Rudrāksha. Thus the whole Upanishad is unified and the phala of the whole Upanishad is recounted in section VIII. It is called the *Brihad-jābāla* to distinguish it from the other jābāla Upanishad of the *Krishna-Yajus* and *Atharva-veda*,—the Rudrāksha-jābāla and the jābāla Upanishads and also to distinguish it from the Bhasma-jābāla Upanishad of the *Atharva-veda*. The contents of this Upanishad might be compared with those of the Kālāgni-Rudra Upanishad of the *Krishna-Yajur-veda*.

The *Pāśupati-Brāhmaṇa* Upanishad is a peculiar Atharva-Vedic Upanishad. It deals with Mālika-vidya, the Praṇava, the Trisakti (Rudra = Tamas, Vishnu = Satva, and Brahma =

Rājasa). It speaks of Paśupati (Śiva) as the Yāgakarta and speaks of the conduct of the universal government by God as a yāga or sacrifice, in which Rudra is the yagna-deva, Vishnu is the adhvaryu, Indra, the hota, Devata—the yagnabhuk, etc. It deals with Hamsa and Praṇava and considers them to be equivalent. It glorifies Ahimsa as the greatest Dharma-yāga and ends with a highly advaitic interpretation of Śiva and Maheśvara. This is a grand achievement in the Upanishadic literature of the Saivite school of the modern period.

Conclusion :—

A study of the *Atharva-veda* Upanishads by themselves and by the side of the Upanishads of the other Vedas shows that the simple faith of the original *Atharva-veda* period which consisted in the performance of simple rituals and the chanting of simple hymns to Devatas and their creations in nature in the form of plants, etc., with a view to secure material happiness in life developed gradually into a complicated system of upāsana, mantra-śāstra, yoga, sanyāsa and jnāna during the long period in which the Upanishads were composed and taught by great teachers for the edification of men and for the material, moral and spiritual welfare of the Aryan fraternity. May we still be led by the Light first shed on us by Father Atharva, Rishi Āngiras and Vena, the Supreme Lord of the Universe.

ॐ तत्‌सत्.

108 UPANISHADS

I <i>Atharva-veda</i>	II <i>Sāma-veda</i>	III <i>Krishna-Yajur-veda</i>	IV <i>Sukla-Yajur-veda</i>	V <i>Rig-veda</i>
<i>I. Brahma-vidya</i> <i>Praśna</i>				
<i>Muṇḍaka</i>	<i>Kena</i>	<i>Kaṭha</i>	<i>Īśavasya</i>	
<i>Māṇḍūkya</i>	<i>Chandogya</i>	<i>Taittiriya</i>	<i>Bṛhad-</i> <i>Āraṇyaka</i>	
<i>Atharva-śikha</i>		<i>Brahma</i>	<i>Nirālamba</i>	
<i>Annapūrṇa</i>	<i>Maitrāyani</i>	<i>Amṛta Bindu</i>	<i>Adhyātma</i>	
<i>Ātma</i>	<i>Maitreyi</i>	<i>Sarvasāra</i>	<i>Muktika</i>	
		<i>Brahma-vidya</i>		
		<i>Sariraka</i>		
		<i>Avadhūta</i>		
		<i>Varāha</i>		

108 UPANISHADS—(Contd.)

I <i>Atharva-veda</i>	II <i>Sāma-veda</i>	III <i>Krishna-Yajur-veda</i>	IV <i>Sukla-Yajur-veda</i>	V <i>Rig-veda</i>
<i>II. Sanyāsa:</i> — Nāradā-Parivrājaka Paramahamsa parivrājaka Para brahma	Āruṇika Mahā Sanyāsa Kundika	Katha	Paramahamsa Bhikshuka Turiyatītāvadhūta Yajnavalkya. Satyajaniya	..
<i>III. Mantra-sāstra</i> Praśna	..	..	..	Nāda-bindu Aksha-mālīka Tripura
<i>IV. Upāsana:</i> — Atharva-Śira Nr̄simha-tāpini Sītā Śarabha Mahā-Nārāyaṇa Rāma-Rahasya Rāma-tāpini Annapūrṇa Sūrya Tripura Devi Bhāvana Bhasma-jābāla Gaṇapati Mahā-vākyā Gopāla-tāpini Krishna Hayagrīva Dattātreya Garuda	Avyakta Sāvitri	Kaivalya Śvētāśvatara Nārāyaṇa Sutra-Rahasya Dakṣiṇāmurti Skanda Ekākshara Akshi Rudraḥṛdaya Pancha-Brahma Prānāgnihotra Kalisantārana Saraswati-Rahasya	Jābāla Hanisa Subala Mantrika Paingala Tārasāra	Mudgala Saubhāgya-Lakshmi. Bahvṛcha
<i>V. Yoga</i> Śāndilya	Yoga-chūḍā-mani Darśana	Garbha Amṛta-nāda Kshurikā Tejobindu Dhyānabindu Yogatattva Yogeśikha Yogeśikha	Triśikha-Brahma Maṇḍala-Brahma Advaita-Tāraka	..
<i>VI. Miscellaneous (anga)</i> Brihad-jābāla Paśupati-Brahma	Vāsudeva Rudrāksha-jābāla Jābāli Vajrasūchya	Kālāgnī-Rudra	..	..

Vide Rig-Vediya-Brahma-Karma-Samuchchaya (52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 301 and 302).

Note.—The *Rig-veda* has given a place in its ritualistic code to the following Upanishads of the “*Atharva Śirsha*”.

1. *Nārāyaṇa-Atharva Śirsha*.—Same as the *Nārāyaṇa* Upanishad of the *Yajur-veda*, but called “*Atharva-Śirsha*.”

2. *Śiva-Atharva Śirsha*.—A new Upanishad, but in part it follows the method of praising a Rudra—adopted in *Nṛsimha-tāpini*, *Rama-tāpini*, and *Gopala-tāpini* Upanishads of the *Atharva-veda* speaking of the Deity in terms of all manifested creation.

3. *Ganapati-Atharva Śirsha*.—Same as the *Ganapati* Upanishad of the *Atharva-veda*. (*Rig-Vedic Code* gives also full instructions for the performance of *japa*, *homa*, etc. Sec. 301 and 301.)

4. *Suryātharva Śirsha*.—Same as the *Suryopanishad* of the *Atharva-Code*.

5. *Devi-Atharva Śirsha*.—On the model of the *Devi-Upanishad* of the *Atharva-veda*. This Upanishad recounts the “*Durga-mantra*” given in the *Devi-Upanishad*.

At the end of this Upanishad the phala of the above five Upanishads is recited (सप्तशाथवर्षीषि फलमाप्नोति).

There is, in this, a clear indication of the influence of the earlier *Atharva-veda* and its Upanishads on the *Rig-Vedic* ritualism of the later day.

MUSIC AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS OF THE ANCIENT TAMILS

BY N. CHENGALVARAYAN

Introduction

INDIAN music can be considered under two broad divisions, viz., Hindustani and Karnataka types. In course of time the main stream of musical tradition that originated from Bharata underwent many changes. New influences were brought to bear upon the two branches of the main stream and each acquired a characteristic peculiar to the cultural tradition of its part of the country. North Indian music was subjected to Persian and Arabic influences. But South India, as elsewhere, stands to-day as the custodian of more or less traditional forms. We cannot say absolutely that there was no change whatever, for music has always been a living art, and it is yet so owing to some encouragement it receives from the educated classes. From time to time we find some improvements effected, as no vital art can be static.

What is music ? It is the harmony of sound which unites all beings. It not only contributes to the mental, moral and physical development of man. "As an expression of the emotions music is an international hut." "The music of a nation is an index of its soul."

Further, the art of music arises from a desire for vocal expression of the pent-up emotions. So it has been rightly said that "music is the dance of words and dance is the music of the human limbs".

The subject can be classified under the following heads :—

- (1) The greatness of music.
- (2) The music of the Tamils.
- (3) The different lines of Tamil music.
- (4) The musical instruments of the Tamils.

The Greatness of Music

When the greatest classical works of Tamil Literature were produced, the Tamil tongue itself came to be adapted to three main national demands of expression, *viz.*, Poetry, Music and Drama. Evidently music has been considered as the chief grace of both poetry and drama, and scholars of antiquity have given it a central place as the hand-maid of both. This art has had many devotees who have produced worthy literature in glorifying their *Muse*. Monumental works in Tamil are also in verse, and from the beginning their very reading has been taught to be sung in particular strains. As at present music was the *sine qua non* of the dramatic performance to sweeten the intervals between scene and scene.

Further the music on the stage is of peculiar attraction even to the illiterate, while the language and literary graces can appeal only to scholars and cultured minds. Birds are our natural songsters. It is no wonder that they should be attracted by good music. On the other hand, the overpowering influence of music has been observed from the most remote times as having kept spell-bound beasts and birds, reptiles and venomous creatures and rendered them tame under its influence. Tamil poets have spoken of it as having equally moved the animate and inanimate nature.

"Quite an interesting and informing chapter is found in the Tamil classic, *Silappadikāram*, which furnishes us a valuable mine of information on the then extant music and also sheds a welcome light on to what degree musical science had progressed in the old Tamil country. Tamil literature gives the term of *Isai* (இசை) for music. The Tamilian genius for music is best illustrated by the *Silappadikāram*, where the whole of Canto III is devoted to various aspects of music. Besides the texts, the commentary throws a flood of light on the details of that science. A number of musical instruments are mentioned as well as the qualifications of a musician and a composer of songs." The musician exhibited his skill either by singing vocally or by playing on instruments like *Vina* and *Flute* or combining both. *Mridangam* (மின்துமை) or the soft voiced

drum as it may be called, was a constant equipment in all such performances.

The poet says the flowers in the forest blossom under the hum of the bees, meaning their music stirs the buds to open their petals. The bud that is about to blossom is called *pōdu* (போது) in Tamil (*pōdu*=time). Ascetics and others who lived in the forests knew the time by the blossoming of the flowers. There was a flower called *Nallirul Nāri* (நல்லிருள் நாறி)—the night queen—because it blossomed at midnight. Even when the sun's rays are interrupted by the clouds, these flowers do blossom at the right time; thus they indicated time. Poetically what indicated time has been identified with time itself, and hence it has been spoken of by the term *pōdu*.

“மூல்லை வரிவண்டே வாய்நெகிழ்ச்தனவே”

(*Kuruntokai*—குறுந்தொகை).

Flowers are observed to blossom when the bees hum and evolve their music. It is said that even a cobra is rendered tame if it hears true harmony. In a Tamil classic known as *Kalittokai* (கலித்தொகை)—a Sangam work—it is said that an uncontrollable wild elephant was brought under control by the music of the *vina*.

(1) “காழ்வரை நில்லாக் கடுங்களிற்கெருருத்தல்
யாழ்வரைத் தங்கியாங்கு”

(*Kalittokai*—கலித்தொகை).

(2) “அணியிழை மகளிரும் யாளையும் வணக்கும்,
மணியொலி வீஜையும்”

(*Brihat-kathā*—பெருங்கலை).

(3) “மகரயாழ்வல்ல மைந்தலென்றுவனைக்
கண்ட மத்தகப் புகர் முகக் களிற்றின்”

(*Meru-mantra Purāṇam*—மேருமந்திர புராணம்).

In *Ahanānūru* (அசநானுறு) we find the following:—

“In a field of millet belonging to the Kurinji tract (குறிஞ்சி நிலம்) of land, a girl who was sitting to keep watch over the field began to sing in ecstasy the *ragas* (tunes) suited to that tract called *Kurinjip-paṇ* (குறிஞ்சிப்பண்). At that time a hungry elephant which came to feed upon the millet crop forgot its

hunger and was kept spell-bound by the sweet music of that maiden.

“ ஒவியல்வார் மயிருளரினன் கொடிச்சி,
பெருவரை மருங்கிற குறிஞ்சிபாடக், குரலுங்
கொள்ளாது நிலையினும் பெயராது, படா அப்
பைங்கண் பாடுபெற்றூர்ய்யென, மரம்புகண்
மழகளிறுறங்கும் நாடன் ”

(*Ahanānūru*—அகாநூரு).

In the *Brihat-kathā* (பெருங்கதை) which relates the story of Udayana, the hero, controlled a mad wild elephant named *Nalagiri* (நளகிரி) by playing on the *vina*. The elephant so controlled by Udayana is compared to an obedient disciple of a great Guru.

“ வீணையெழ்து வீதியினடப்ப
ஆணை யாசாற் கடியுறை செய்யு,
மாணிபோல் மதக்களிறுபடிய ”

(*Brihat-kathā*—பெருங்கதை).

The story of Lord Krishna narrates the fact that cows were enraptured by his music. Lord Krishna as the divine shepherd, while grazing the herds in different places, collected them together by playing exquisitely on his flute.

“ ஆக்குவித்தார் குழலரங்கேசர் ”

Then the cows from the various parts of the woods gathered together and followed him home. Similar instances are available from *Periya-Purāṇam* (பெரிய புராணம்), a Tamil work which gives an account of the sixty-three Saiva devotees, i.e., *Nāyanmars* (நாயன்மார்கள்).

There was an animal called *Asūṇam* (அசுணமா). It was also considered a bird. It was a good judge of music. It danced about in ecstasy, if it heard mellifluous music and swooned away if it heard harsh music.

(1) “ இருஞ்சிறைத் தொழுதியார்ப்ப யாழ் செத்து,
இருங்கல் விடரை யசனமோர்க்கும் ”

(*Ahanānūru*—அகாநூரு).

(2) “ இன்னளிக்குரல் கேட்ட வசனமா,
வன்னளாய் மகிழ்வெய்து வித்தயள் ”

(*Cintāmāṇi*—சிந்தாமணி).

(3) “யாழ் நறையடுத்த வசனங்கள் மாச்செவி,
பறையடுத்ததுபோலும்”

(Kambar—கம்பர்).

Those who wanted to catch this bird hid themselves behind the trees and played upon the *vina*; hearing the music the bird came near enough to be caught.

“அசனங்கொல்பவர் கைபோனங்றும்,
இன்பமுஞ்ஞுன்பமு முடைத்தே”

(Narrinai—நறினை).

There was another bird similar to this known as *Kinnara* (கிண்ணறப்பறவை).

In rural parts we see even to-day the labourers singing “rural songs” known in Tamil as *Tempāngu* (தெம்பாங்கு) while driving the carts and ploughing the fields with oxen. Even while lulling the children to sleep we see mothers singing “lullabies”.

It is said that hard-hearted highway robbers too forgot sometimes their criminal quest when they heard sweet music. We find some such reference in an old Tamil classic. In the desert regions these highway dacoits waylaid travellers and seized their property. If they found no money about them, they mercilessly killed them and exulted over their achievements. Even the heart of such ruffians was softened by the influence of sweet music.

“ஆறலைக்கள்வர் படை விட வருளின்
மாறுதலைப் பெயர்க்கும் மருவின் பாலை”

(Porunarāyrruppādai, ll. 21-22—பொருநராத்துப்படை).

In the great Tamil classic known as *Jivaka-Chintamani* (ஜீவக சிங்காமணி) we find the following :—

There was a beautiful maid known as *Suramanjari* (ஸரமஞ்சரி) who had taken a vow not to see the face of any male: *Jivaka* (ஜீவகன்), the hero of this work, went in the guise of an old man and played upon the *vina* so well that she was kept spell-bound and captivated by his sweet voice, offered to marry him.

“கள்ள மூப்பினங்தனைகளின்த கீத வீதியே,
வள்ளிவென்ற நுண்ணிடை மழை மலர்த்தடங்களூர்,

புள்ளுவம்ம திம்மகன் புணர்த்த வோசை மேற்புகன்
ஊள்ளம் வைத்த மாமயிற் குழாத்தி ஞேடியெய்தினார்.”

Lord Siva is supposed to be the embodiment of music and is very devoted to it.

- (1) “இயல், இசை, நாடகம் நின்திறமாம்,
புயலன மிடறுடை புண்ணியனே.”
- (2) “ஏழிசையா யிசைப்பய்னும்”
- (3) “இயலவன், இசையவன்”
- (4) “இயலிசைப் பொருள்களாகி”
- (5) “ஏழிசையை”, etc.

(*Tevāram—தெவாரம்*).

It is said that enamoured of music God Siva keeps two celestial songsters *Kambala* (கம்பளர்) and *Asvadara* (அசுவதரர்) in the form of ear-rings. It is also said that He has always in His hands the musical instrument *vina* and is called *Vinā-Dakshināmūrti* (வினா-தக்ஷிணமூர்த்தி).

“எம்மிறை வீணை வாசிக்குமே ”

(*Tevāram—தெவாரம்*).

Knowing that music is very pleasing to *Iswara* several Bhaktas have worshipped and adored Him with delightful tunes of music, e.g.

Anāya-nāyanār (ஆனய நாயனர்),
Tiru-nālaip-pōvār (திருநாளைப்போவார்),
Tiru-Neelakanta-Yālpāṇar (திருநீலகண்ட யாழ்ப்பாணர்),
Paramanaiyepāduvār (பரமனையேபாடுவார்) etc.

ஆனய நாயனர் worshipped Him by singing the “*Panchākshara mantra*” (பஞ்சாக்ஷர) on the flute.

Another devotee named *Pāṇa-badra* (பாணபத்திரன்), a resident of the famous South Madura, worshipped Him by playing on the *vina*. The deity of the Madura temple, Lord Somasundara, was so enamoured of his devotional music, so that, it is said, He bore the fuel load for His Bhakta and thus made his rivals take to their heels.

The Vaishnava devotees such as *Tiruppāṇālāvār* (திருப்பாணால்வார்) and others worshipped Vishnu by their delicious music. All the religious poetical works in Tamil consist of verses which require to be sung in a scientific way,

This illuminates the fact that the Lord's nature is music in its essence and He pours into His devotees His musical presence. Thus the music which true devotees pour out has a heavenly character, e.g., *Tevāram*, *Tiruvāchakam*, *Divyaprabandham*, *Tiruppugal*, *Tattuvārayaradutturai*, etc.

Now let us pass on to examining how the Tamils developed this fine art cherished by them from time out of memory.

The Music of the Tamils

It is said that in the old Tamil academies known as the Sangams, the poets specialised in the three departments of Tamil known to scholars as *Verse* (இயல்), *Music* (இசை) and *Drama* (நாட்டசம்). There was a separate musical academy of scholars who were devoting their time solely to the development of music.

“ ஏழிசைச் சமூல்புக்கோ ”

(*Tirukkovai*—இருச்சிற்றம்பலக்கோவை).

Some poets of the last Sangam devoted their time to specialisation in music and have left us many musical compositions. To mention a few, there were the following Tamil poets who were great musicians :—

Kannakanār (கண்ணகனார்),
Kannanākakanār (கண்ணஞ்சகனார்),
Kesavanār (கேசவனார்),
Nannakanār (நன்னகனார்),
Nallachutanār (நல்லச்சுதனார்),
Nākanār (நாகனார்),
Pittāmattar (பித்தாமத்தர்),
Pettakanār (பெட்டகனார்),
Marutuvanal-achutanār (மருதுவனல்லச்சுதனார்), etc.

Besides these there was a poet named *Nedumpalliyattanār* (நெடும்பல்லியத்தனார்), i.e., one well versed in the use of the several musical instruments. This poet has mentioned the names of different musical instruments in his works.

In *Silappadikāram*, a classic of the last Sangam, we get the names of the following works relating to the science of music but which are not now extant :—

Perunārai (பெருநாரை);
Perunkurugai (பெருங்குருகு);
Pancha Bhāratiyam (பஞ்சபாரதியம்);
Isai Nuṭukkam (இசைது ணுக்கம்);
Pancha Marabu (பஞ்சமரபு);
Tāla Samudram (காள சமூத்திரம்);
Kacchapuda Venbā (கச்சபுட வெண்பா);
Indira Kāliyam (இந்திராவியம்);
Padinārupadalam (பதினாறுபடலம்);
Tālavakaiyōttu (காளவகையோத்து);
Isaititamīl-seyyuyūlkovai (இசைத் தமிழ்ச்செய்யுட்கோவை).

The mention of these old books is itself a sufficient proof of the antiquity of the science and its wide culture. *Suddānanda prakāsam* (சுத்தானந்த பிரகாசம்), a later work, is also a treatise on music. *Silappadikāram* (சிலப்பதிகாரம்), *Cintāmaṇi* (சிந்தாமணி), *Chudāmaṇi* (சூடாமணி), *Kallāḍam* (கல்லாடம்), *Tiruvadala-vāyudaiyār Tiruvilaiyādal Purāṇam* (திருவடல வாயுடையார் திருவிளையாடல் புராணம்), *Tiruvilaiyādal Purāṇam* (திருவிளையாடல் புராணம்), the works of *Ativīrarāmapāṇḍya* (அதிவீரராமபாண்டியன்)—all these furnish much information on the art.

The Different Lines of Tamil Music

Tiran (திறன்) and *Pan* (பன்) are the two divisions of Tamil music. *Pan* is literally harmony and the kind of music called *Pan* is accompanied by playing on an instrument which has seven strings representing the svaras (notes). The tune of the song which consisted of these seven svaras was called *Sampūrnarāga* (சம்பூர்ணராகம்) or *Melakarta ragas* which was called the *Pan*. These seven svaras are named in Sanskrit as *Sadja* (ஷட்ஜம்), *Rishaba* (ரிஷபம்), *Gāndhāra* (காங்காரம்), *Madhyama* (மத்தியமம்), *Panchama* (பஞ்சமம்), *Daivata* (தைவதம்), and *Nishāda* (நிஷாதம்). The Tamils named them as the *Kural* (குரல்), *Tuttam* (துத்தம்), *Kaikkilai* (கைக்கிளை), *Uļai* (உழை), *Ili* (இளி), *Vilari* (விளரி) and *Tāram* (தாரம்) respectively.

The modern notation for these svaras is *Sa*, *Ri*, *Ga*, *Ma*, *Pa*, *Da*, *Ni* (ஷ, ரி, கா, மா, பா, தி) and the ancient Tamils used the seven long vowels (ஷ, ரி, ஏ, ஓ, ஐ, ஒ, ஔ) of the Tamil

alphabet to denote these svaras and perhaps the Tamilian thinkers thought it more natural to denote them by the long and open vowels. The *Pan* was also known as *Janakarāga* (ஜானகராகம்). The *Tiran* (திறன்) is the offshoot of the above. It is now called as *Janyarāgam* (ஜன்யராகம்).

In the Tamil work known as *Yappilakkanam* (யப்பிலக்கனம்) which deals with the different kinds of the tunes of music, we have an informing description. The Tamils have calculated the tunes of music as 11,991. These must be a combination of *Pan* and *Tiran*.

Pan consists of many kinds. They are *Kurinji* (குறிஞ்சி), *Pälai* (பாலை), *Mullai* (மூலை), *Marudam* (மருதம்), and *Neidal* (நெய்தல்). These are called the five big *Pans*. These in their turn have several sub-divisions: The day-*Pan*, the *Pan* suited to a particular time, the night-*Pan*, *Pan* suited to the tastes of individuals, *Pan* suited to the caste or religion, etc. The day-*Pan* consists of twelve kinds such as *Pura-nirmai* (புறநிர்மை), etc. The night-*Pan* consists of nine kinds such as *Takkarāgam* (தக்கராகம்) etc. *Sevvali* (செவ்வழி) and two others are common for all times. The morning *Pan* is called *Marudam* (மருதம்), the evening *Pan* is called *Sevvali* (செவ்வழி). Through these *Pans* expert musicians have symbolically expressed some valuable thoughts. It is observed in a Tamil work that a gentleman who was eagerly expecting a friend in the evening, sang the evening *Pan* as the vehicle of his invitation.

The *Pan* that evokes pity is called *Vilari* (விளரி-இரங்கற்பண்). Several poets have evoked the sympathy of listeners by singing this *Pan*. Ravana, who was caught under the mount Kailas, when crushed by the Lord Iswara, sang this *Pan* and thus gained the sympathy of the God.

Some poets are observed to have sung only such songs as were full of sonorous and majestic diction.

“ பண்ணன்மூம் பாடற்கியை பின்றேல் ”

(*Kural*—குறள்).

These sweet and melodious compositions were again called as *Uru* (உரு) and *Vari* (வரி). Some are of opinion that the *Uru* falls into ten divisions. They are:—

Sendurai (செங்குறை), *Vendurai* (வெண்குறை), *Perun-devapāṇi* (பெருங்கேதவபாணி), *Sirudevapāṇi* (சிறுகேதவபாணி), *Muttakam* (முத்தகம்), *Peruvannam* (பெருவண்ணம்), *Arruvvari* (ஆற்றவபரி), *Kānalvari* (கானல்வரி), *Virimuran* (விரிமுரண்), *Talaipokumandilam* (தலைபோகு மண்டிலம்), etc.

The songs sung measured by *tāla* (காளம்) have been divided into nine kinds. They are :—*Sindu* (சிங்க), *Tiripadai* (திரிபதை), *Savalai* (சவலை), *Samapāda viruttam* (சமபாடக விருத்தம்), *Sendurai* (செங்குறை), *Vendurai* (வெண்குறை), *Perun-devapāṇi* (பெருங்கேதவபாணி), *Sirudevapāṇi* (சிறுகேதவபாணி), etc.

In addition to the above, there was another kind called *Gandharva mārga* (காங்கர்வமார்க்கம்). *Gandharva Sāstra* is a name given to this science by the northern people.

The wry motions and twitches of the face and the other parts of the body which a singer has to avoid to produce an agreeable effect on the audience are enumerated as follows :—

- (1) The contracting of the stomach.
- (2) Putting on a plaintive or weeping expression.
- (3) Raising the eyebrows.
- (4) Shaking the head.
- (5) Moving the eyes.
- (6) Swelling the neck.
- (7) Gaping.
- (8) Showing the teeth.

“வயிற்து குழியவாங்கல் அழுமுகங் காட்டல்,
வாங்குஞ், செயிரறு புருவமேறல் சிரங்கீக்குறல்
கண்ணுடல், பயிறகு மிடறு வீங்கல் பையென
வாயங்காத்தல், எயிற்து காட்டவின்னவடற்
ரெழில் குற்றமென்ப ”

(*Tiruvilaiyādal Purāṇam*—திருவிளையாடல் புராணம்).

Even expert musicians are not quite free from these shortcomings. The reason is they do not correct themselves in the earlier stages.

The Musical Instruments

These are of three kinds, viz., *Gitāṅga* (கீதங்கம்), *Niruttāṅga* (நிருத்தாங்கம்) and *Ubbayāṅga* (உபயாங்கம்). *Gitāṅga* can be used as accompaniments for vocal music,

Niruttāṅga for the dance alone, and *Ubhayāṅga* was used in accompaniment to both. A musical performance may consist of (1) singing, (2) playing on instruments, and (3) both. In the Sangam literature mention is made of various musical instruments and they are collectively denoted by the term *Iśai-karuvi* (இசைக்கருவி). “Chiefly four kinds of instruments are distinguished—*Torkaruvi* (தெர்த்தருவி) made of leather, *Tulaik-karuvi* (துலைக்கருவி) provided with holes, *Narambuk-karuvi* (நரம்புக்கருவி) or stringed instruments, and *Midarruk-karuvi* (மிடற்றுக்கருவி) or throat instruments.” The throat instruments may be conceived to be the flute, reed, and possibly tambourine may also be included in the category as it simply helps the vocal music.

The flute was the important wind instrument used by the ancient Tamils. It presents certain differences in make and the materials used. “The commentator of *Silappadikāram* distinguishes five kinds of flute according to the materials with which it was made. It was made of bamboo, sandalwood, bronze and ebony”; of these, that of the bamboo is the best.

“ஆடமைக்குயின்ற வஹர்துளை மருங்கிற
கோடையவ்வளி குழவிலைசயாகப் பாடின
னருவிப் பனினீரின்னிசைத், தோடமை
முழவின்றுதை குரலாக”

(*Ahanānūru*—அகாநாறு).

Because it was made of bamboo it took the name of *Pullānkūṭal* (புல்ளாங்குழல்) in Tamil. *Vankiam* (வங்கியம்) is another name for the flute. The flute was considered as an important instrument, for it is quite easy and natural to handle.

(1) “துழல் வழிநின்றத்தியாழே யாழ்வழி,
தண்ணுமை நின்றது தகவே தண்ணுமைப்
பின்வழி நின்றது முழவே,
முழவொடு கூடி நின்றிசைத்த தாமங்திரகை.”

(*Silappadikāram*—ஸிலப்பதிகாரம்).

(2) “துழலினிது, யாழினிது என்பர், மக்கள்தம்
மழலைச் சொற்கேளாதவர்”

(*Kural*—குறள்).

"In the flute seven holes are made for the seven svaras:—*Sa, Ri, Ga, Ma, Pa, Da, Ni* and seven fingers are pressed into service when playing the flute. The seven fingers are three of the left hand leaving out the thumb and the small finger and four of the right hand leaving out the thumb."

In Tamil literature mention is made of different flutes such as *Konraiyankulal* (கொன்றையங்குமல்), *Ambalantinkulal* (ஆம்பலங்திங்குமல்) and *Mullaiyankulal* (மூலையங்குமல்), etc.

Similarly, there have been differences in the *vina*, i.e., *Yāl* (யாழ்). It is a stringed instrument and occupies a prominent place among the stringed instruments and is of different kinds.

There was an instrument called *Pēriyāl* (பெரியாழ்) which consisted of 21 strings. *Makarayāl* (மகரயாழ்), another instrument, consisted of 19 strings and *Sakodayāl* (சகோடபாழ்) consisted of 14 strings. The seven-stringed *yāl* was called the *Senkottiyāl* (செங்கோட்டியாழ்). It is also said that there was another *yāl* known as *Ādi-yāl* (ஆதியாழ்) or *Perunkalan* (பெருங்கலன்) which consisted of 1,000 strings. The excellent features, as well as the defects, and how to handle these etc., are minutely described in the Tamil works. A good description of the *vina* is to be found from *Porunarārūp-padai* (பொருநாற்றுப்படை), lines 4–18 and the *Perumpānārūp-padai* (பெரும்பான்நற்றுப்படை), lines 4–16:

"குளப்பு வழியன்ன கவடுபடு பத்தல்
விளக்கழ அருவின் விசியறு பச்சை
யெய்யா விளஞ்கும் செய்யோ ஓவ்வயிற்
றைதுமயி ரொழிகிய தோற்றம் போலப்
பொல்லம் பொத்திய பொதியறு போர்கவ
யளைவா மூலவன் கண் கண்டன்ன
துளைவாய் தூர்ந்த தூரப்பமை யாணி
யென்னைட் டிங்கள் வடிவிற்றுகி
யண்ணை வில்லா வமைவடு வறு வாய்ப்
பாம் பணங் தன்ன வோங்கிருமருப்பின்
மாயோண் மூன்கை யாய்தொடி கடுக்குங்
கண்கூ டிருக்கைத் திண்பிணித் திவலி
னூய்தினை யரிசி யவையலன்ன

வேய்வை போகிய விரலுளர் நரம்பிற்

கேள்வி போகிய நீன் விசித்தொடையன்”

(*Porunarārūp-padai*—பொருநராற்றுப்படை, ll. 4-18).

“பாசிலை யொழித்த பராஅரைப் பாதிரி

வள்ளிதழ் மாமலர் வயிற்றிடை வகுத்தத

னுள்ளகம் புரையு மூட்டுறு பச்சைப்

பரியரைக் கழுகின் பாளையம் பசும்பூக்

கருவருங் தன்ன கண்கடு செறிதுளை

யுருக்கி யன்ன பொடுத்துறு போர்வைச்

சுனைவறந் தன்ன பின்னேந்து கலவக்கடை

நெடும்பணைத் திரடோண் மடங்கை முன்கைக்

குறுக்கொடி யேய்க்கு மெலிந்து வீங்குதிவிவிள்

மணிவார்ந் தன்ன மாயிரு மருப்பிற்

பொன்வார்ந்தன்ன புரியடங்கு நரம்பின்

கௌடையமை கேள்வி யிடவயிற்றழீஇ”

(*Perumpāṇārūp-padai*—பெரும்பானுற்றுப்படை, ll. 4-1(i)).

The following is the list of drums (leather instruments)—culled from *Silappadikāram*, a classic of the second century A.D.—which were accompaniments for any performance :—

- (1) *Pērikai* (பேரிகை)—A variety of kettle drum.
- (2) *Padakam* (படகம்)—Tom-tom.
- (3) *Idakkai* (இடக்கை)—A double-headed drum.
- (4) *Maddalam* (மத்தளம்)—A kind of drum.
- (5) *Udukkai* (உடுக்கை)—A hand drum like the hour-glass.
- (6) *Sallikai* (ஸல்லிகை)—A kind of large drum.
- (7) *Karadikai* (கரடிகை)—A kind of drum.
- (8) *Timilai* (திமிகை)—The drum of fisherman.
- (9) *Kudamula* (குடமுழா)—An earthern-ware drum.
- (10) *Takkai* (தக்கை)—Tabour.
- (11) *Ganapparai* (கணப்பறை)—A kind of drum.
- (12) *Tamarukam* (கமருகம்)—A little drum.
- (13) *Tappumai* (கண்ணுமை)—A kind of drum.
- (14) *Tadarī* (தடரீ)— “
- (15) *Andari* (அந்தரி)— “
- (16) *Mulavu* (முறவு)—A drum in general.
- (17) *Chandravalayam* (சங்கிரவளையம்)—A kind of drum.

- (18) *Mondai* (மொங்கை) — A drum open at an end.
- (19) *Murasu* (முரசு) — A variety of kettle drum.
- (20) *Kan-vidu-tumbu* (கணவிடதும்பு) — A kind of drum.
- (21) *Nisālam* (நிசாலம்) — One-headed drum.
- (22) *Tudumai* (துடுமை) — A kind of drum.
- (23) *Siruparai* (சிறபறை) — A small drum.
- (24) *Adakkam* (அடக்கம்) — A kind of drum.
- (25) *Takunīccham* (தகுனிச்சம்) —,,
- (26) *Viraleru* (விரலேறு) —,,
- (27) *Pākam* (பாகம்) —,,
- (28) *Upānkam* (உபாங்கம்) —,,
- (29) *Nāligai* (நாழிகை) —,,
- (30) *Parai* (பறை) — The big drum.
- (31) *Tudi* (துடி) — A small drum tapering from each end, forming a small neck in the centre.

A drum was called *maddalam* (மத்தளம்) on account of the peculiar sound it produced. Another was called *karadikai* (கரடிகை) which sounded like the voice of the bear (*Karadi*—Bear). Thus we see that each instrument had a significant name. Besides the above, there were the following other instruments such as *Ākulī* (ஆகுலி), *Pāndil* (பாஞ்சல்), *Kodu* (கோடு), *Neduvankiam* (நெடுவங்கியம்), *Kuruntumbu* (குறங்தாம்பு), *Tattai-p-parai* (தட்டைப்பறை), *Padalai* (பதலை), etc. Probably all these were made of leather.

“ Peculiar and special measures were marked as befitted the different occasions, such as war music, marriage music, music connected with dance, secular and religious, singing associated with festivals, with death, etc.”

There was a particular community of bards of both sexes known as *Pānar* (பாணர்) and *Viralis* (விறலிகள்) who were well trained in the use of the above-mentioned instruments and were also good professional singers and musicians. As the Tamil kings of old were patrons of music, the bards were given to singing the glories of the kings and other chiefs and nobles and thus got prizes and medals for the display of their skill.

“ தன் கடல் வரைப்பிற் ரூங்குநர் ப்பெருது
 பொழி மழை துறந்த புகைவேய் குன்றத்துப்
 பழு மாங் தேரும் பறவை போலக்
 கல் லென் சுற்ற மொடு கால்கிளர்ந்து திரிதரும்
 குல் லென் யாக்கைப் புலவுவாய்ப் பாண்”

(*Perumpānārrup-padai*—பெரும்பானுற்றுப்பஸ்ட, ll. 18–22).

These singers may be compared to the minstrels or war-bards. They were known as *Perumpānar* (பெரும்பானர்), *Sirupānar* (சிருபானர்), *Porunar* (பொருநர்), *Kūttar* (கூத்தர்), etc. In *Malaipadukadām* (மலைபடிக்டாம்), a classic of the last Sangam, reference is made to these minstrels as carrying several instruments and they are compared to jack-trees studded with fruits.

“ நொடிதரு பாணிய பதலையும் பிறவுங்
 கார்சோட் பலவின் காய்த்துணர் கடுப்ப ”

(*Malaipadukadām*—மலைபடிக்டாம், ll. 11–12).

To take a general view in the light of *Silappadikāram* :—

The songster must possess the genius and culture to study the shades of svaras and evolve new combinations or tunes and thus expand the sphere of his music. And such a genius alone can keep the indigenous art unpolluted by anything foreign. His band also should consist of drummers and others versed in the science of Bharata—the art of dancing and its accompaniments. This art is further distinguished as the Royal Art (*வேத்தியல்*) and the art of the populace (*பொதுவியல்*).

The skill and attainments of the drummer, of the flutist and the *vina* player are elaborately explained. The drummer has to adjust his performance to that of the songster so that the latter might not feel inconvenienced by loss of concord and the performance as a whole might not jar on the ears of the audience. He has to be specially careful to secure perfect concord by regulating the pitch of his beatings so that the sound of the drum is one with the voice of the songster in its rise and fall. The flutist is an expert in what is known as *cittirap-punarpwu* (சித்திரப்புணர்ப்பு) and this is characterised by the special feature of nasalising the hard consonants in singing a musical piece. The use of his fingers on this instrument

must be such as to display perfect training and grasps of the principles of music.

The terminology adopted in the Tamil literature to distinguish the numerous subtleties in the performance of the *vina* has to be admitted to be really significant and even descriptive ; still it passes the possibility of being rendered into another language. Of the fourteen *pālais* or tunes connected with this, skill consists in bringing into play all the seven notes in producing a tune.

For the sake of producing these varieties certain adjustments are necessary, “(1) four pertaining to the key, (2) seven of equality, *viz.*, neither low nor high, and (3) three of high pitch”. From a study of this chapter one cannot but note that in the days of *Silappadikāram* the instruments of music that had the highest recognition were the *vina* and the *flute*, while the excellence of the vocal music held its own.

The Drummer—(தண்ணுமையோனமைதி) :—

“ஆடல் பாட விசையே தமிழே
பண்ணே பாணி தாக்கே முடமே
தேசிக மென்றிவை யாசி னுணர்ந்து
கூடை நிலத்தைக் குறைவின்று யிகுத்தாங்கு
வார நிலத்தை வாங்குபு வாங்கி
வாங்கிய வாரத் தியாழுங் குழலு
மேங்கிய மிடறு மிசைவன கேட்பக்
கூருகிர்க் கரணங் குறியறிந்து சேர்த்தி
யாக்கலு மடக்கலு மீத்திற்ம் படாமைச்
சித்திரக் கரணர் சிறைவின்று செலுத்து
மத்தகு தண்ணுமை யருங்தொழின் முதல்வனும்.”

The Flutist—(தழலோனமைதி) :—

“சொல்லிய வியல்பிற் சித்திர வஞ்சளை
புல்விய வறிந்து புணர்ப்போன் பண்பின்
வர்த்தனை நான்கு மயலறப் பெய்தாங்
கேற்றிய குரவிளி யென்றிரு நரம்பி
ஞைப்பக் கேட்டு முனர்வின ஞகிப்
பண்ணமை முழவின் கண்ணறி யறிந்து
தண்ணுமை முதல்வன் நன்னெழும் பொருங்கி

வண்ணப் பட்டடை யாழ்மேல் வைத்தாங்
கிசையோன் பாடிய விசையி னியற்கை
வந்தது வளர்த்து வடுவ தொற்றி
யின்புற வியக்கி யிசைபட வைத்து
வார னிலத்தைக் கேட்டன்று பார்த்தாங்
கீர னிலத்தி ஞெழுத்தெழுத்தாக
வழுவின் றிசைக்குங் துழுலோன் ருணும்.”

The Vina-Player—(யாழாசிரியனமைதி) :—

“ ஸரேழ் தொடுத்த செம்முறைக் கேள்வியி
ஞேரேழ் பாலை னிறுத்தல் மேண்டி
வன்மையிற் கிடந்த தார பாகமு
மென்மையிற் கிடந்த குரவின் பாகமு
மெய்க்கிளை நாம்பிற் கைக்கிளை கொள்ளக்
கைக்கிளை யொழிந்த பாகமும் பொற்புடைத்
தளராத் தாரம் விளரிக் கீத்துக்
கிளைவழிப் பட்டன எாங்கே கிளையுந்
தன்கிளை யழிவுகண் டவள்வயிற் சேர
வேனை மகளிருங் கிளைவழிச் சேர
மேல துழையினி கீழது கைக்கிளை
வம்புறு மரபிற் செம்பாலை யாய
திறுதி யாதி யாக வாங்கவை
பெறுமுறை வந்த பெற்றி ணீங்காது
படுமலை செங்வழி யரும்பாலை யெனக்
குரல் குரலாகத் தற்கிழுமை திரிந்தபின்
முன்னதன் வகையே முறைமையிற் றிரிந்தாங்
கிளி முதலாகிய வெதிர்படு கிழமையுங்
கோடி விளரி மேற் செம் பாலையென
நீடிக் கிடந்த கேள்விக் கிடக்கையி
னினை நரம் புடையன வைனவுறக் கொண்டாங்
கியாழ் மேற்பாலை யிடமுறை மெலியக்
குழன் மேற்கோடி வலமுறை மெலிய
வலிவு மெவிவுஞ் சமனு மெல்லாம்
பொலியக் கோத்த புலமை யோனும்.”

(*Silappadikaram—கிலப்பதிகாரம், அரங்கேற்ற காலத, II. 45-94.*)

The foregoing is a brief sketch of the music and musical instruments of the ancient Tamils as gathered from the classics. The numerous and elaborate references and descriptions bearing on the science of music and musical instruments in the Tamil classics of admitted antiquity cannot but make the reader believe that it had its birth, growth and development in a remarkable manner among the people of the land. I may express a wish in conclusion that the universally interesting character of music may induce men of vast and versatile powers to make a comparative study of the science as it prevailed in various parts of the civilized world.

DRAVIDIC SANDHI

BY L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, M.A., B.L.
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I

Vowels and Vowels

Tamil

THE vowels that occur in Tamil in final positions⁴ are *a*, *â*, *i*, *î*, *u*, *û*, *e*, *ê*, *o*, *ô*, *uu*, and the diphthongs *ai* and *au*; while in initial positions, all the above sounds except *uu* are met with. [Sûtras 59, 69, 70 of Tol., El. and N, 102 and 107].

(1) Final *uu* of Tamil, described as *kut'triyal-ugaram* (shortened *u*) and possessing the sound-value of an unrounded *u* with the lips more or less spread out and the tongue lying flat on the lower surface of the mouth is elided altogether in Tamil when it meets the initial vowel of a following word within pause limits in prose and verse-units in poetry.

The occurrence of this *uu* is described in TE, 36, 407 and N, 94. It appears finally after the plosives (or the affricates) of forms having more than two syllables and of dissyllabic forms when these have long base-vowels:

âruu (river), *âduu* (sheep), etc., described as *nedit't'rodar* ;
ehguu (steel, etc.), *kahcuu* (measure of weight), etc., which are *âyda-t-todar* ;
kayiruu (rope), *iruppaduu* (that which exists), etc., which are *uyir-t-todar* ;
kokkuu (stork), *pattuu* (ten), etc., which are cases of *vand'-rodar* where the final plosive is preceded by another plosive ;
ambuu (arrow), *kand'rui* (calf), etc., which are cases of *mend'rodar* in which the plosive is preceded immediately by a nasal ;

⁴ Short *e* is rare in Tamil, occurring as it does only in poetic forms like *cêe* ; short *o* exists only in *no* ; *au* as a final is found only in literary *kau* and *vau*.

koyduu (having reaped), *telguu* (flea), etc., which are *idai-t-todar* in which the plosive is immediately preceded by the *idai-y-eluttu*, viz., *y*, *r*, *l*, *l̄*.

The sound occurs, according to the grammatical tradition only after the plosives (including *r* and *c* which are always classified as plosives), so much so that in forms like *aļavu* (measurement) or *puravu* (dove), the sound cannot be *u* but only *u*. In all dissyllabic words with a short basic vowel whether immediately followed by short plosives or other short consonants, the final vowel is *u* or *mut'triyal-ugaram*, as in *pulu* (worm), *nađu* (middle), *adu* (that), etc.

The indigenous grammarians are quite definite about the distinction between the contexts where *u* should occur and those where *uu* is prescribed. The distinction is important in the literary dialect in *sandhi*. But in the colloquial, the sound *u* has become more widespread, and in actual evaluation the colloquial uses *u* for all *u-garam* sounds except in a few dissyllabic words like *pulu* (worm), *kośu* (mosquito) in which the *mut'triyal ugaram* or full *u* is preserved as the final on account of the influence of the rounded vowels preceding. *Adu* (that), *idu* (this), *nađu* (middle), *viđu* (leave off !), etc. are evaluated in the colloquial as *adu*, *idu*, *nađu*, *viđu*, etc. It will be seen below that *adu*, *idu* also began to behave in literary Tamil like *adu*, *idu* from an early period, though the older condition is also reflected in some *sandhi* contexts in the texts.

In literary *sandhi*, *u* is elided⁵ before another following vowel, while *mut'triyal-ugaram* *u* does not suffer this elision.

⁵ In comparatively late texts, there exist instances where *uu* is preserved before a following vowel; commentators cite the following instances:—

tan mugam âga-t-tân aļaipađuu-řê; and *aditt-adittuu-ř-akkâramunr-it'triya.....* where *uu* is preserved and is followed by a dorsal glide *ř* before following vowels. Such instances are extremely rare in the classical texts.

Commentators observe that N, 164 provides for such exceptional instances by using the word *ôđum* [uyir varin u-k-kuran-mey-vit̄-ôđum]; but I do not know if the use of *ôđum* can imply this variation from the general rule.

The general rule of the non-elision of *mut'triyal-ugaram* [=fully rounded *u*] is subject to the following exceptions :

(a) *adu, idu, udu* often lose their finals in comparatively late texts before vowels following, e.g., *ad-ennâ* in Kamba Râm.

In the colloquial, these words are evaluated with a final -*u*, before consonants following ; and before vowels, this -*u* is mostly elided within pauses ; as in *ad-âru* (who is that ?), *ad-ingé-ÿ-illai* (it is not here). Before the samuccaya -*um* and the particle -*ê*, one hears in the colloquial *ad-um* beside *adu-ÿ-um* ; *id-ê*, *idu-ÿ-ê*.

According to strict grammatical rules, *adu, idu, [udu]* should have a fully rounded -*u* ; and in vocalic sandhi, the final sound is not elided in the oldest literary texts : *adu-ÿ-ê* [P, 78; PP, III, 199], *adu-ÿ-and'rui*, *idu-ÿ-um*, etc. But even in the oldest texts, the "oblique" bases of *adu, idu, udu* are *ad-an-, id-an-, ud-an-*, according to TE, 177 ; here the final -*u* is elided before the *śâriyai-an-*. This would indicate that even at the earliest known stage of Tamil, the final -*u* of these words had begun to lose the individuality of the non-elidable -*u*. This fact is further illustrated by TE, 258 which prescribes that surds are *not* doubled after *adu, idu*, though the general rule [TE, 255] is that after a *mut'i-riyal-ugaram u*, surds are geminated both in *vêt'l'rumai* and in *alvali*. The weakening of the individuality of -*u* in *adu, idu* may therefore have started very early.

(b) Forms like *puravu* (dove), *naravu* (toddy), *aļavu* (measurement), according to the rule regarding final *u* and *u*, have a fully rounded -*u* ; but before vowels following, this *u* is invariably elided even in the most ancient texts, as in *koduñ-jelav-elili* [PP, 10, 1. 5]. N, 164 makes a special provision for this elision [*mut'trum-at'tr-ôrôvali*].

(c) *oru* (one), the numeral adjective loses its -*u* [TE, 464] in *or-âyiram* beside *ôr-âyiram*.

The final -*u* here was perhaps not organic in as much as (i) the general rule [TE, 479] of sandhi before vowels requires the lengthening of *o*, as in -*ôr-âdai* ; and (ii) *or-* appears without a vocalic final in Kannada compounds like *or-kattu*.

It will be seen later that in vocalic *sandhi* action the *kut'triyalugaram u* of Tamil corresponds to the elidable *a* (or *u*) of Mal., to the elidable *-u* of Kannada and to *-u* (or *-u* in some contexts) of Tuļu, while the *mut'triyalugaram u* of Tamil, generally speaking, answers to a non-elidable *-u* of Mal., Kann. and Tuļu. Literary Tamil, Mal., and to a certain extent Tuļu also distinguish the two in sound-evaluation, while Kann. gives the value of a rounded *u* to both the elidable and the non-elidable sounds :—

Elidable sound	Non-elidable sound
Lit. Tam. <i>-u</i>	Tam. <i>-u</i>
Mal. <i>-ə⁶</i>	Mal. <i>-u</i>
Tuļu <i>-u</i>	Tuļu <i>-u</i>
Kann. <i>-u</i>	Kann. <i>-u</i>

The non-elidable sound in all these speeches occurs as the final in dissyllabic words with short vowels and short consonants.

(2) Final vowels other than *u* do not (largely speaking) suffer elision when meeting other vowels; on the other hand, in such cases a vocalic glide, the character of which would depend upon that of the first of the meeting vowels, is inserted to bridge over the hiatus in all combinative contexts.

I have discussed these glides at length in my paper on "Dravidic Glides," contributed to the G. V. Ramamurti Commemoration Volume.

(3) A few cases of optional elision of the first of the meeting vowels are met with in literary usage, though not provided for by the grammars :—

⁶ The difference in sound-value and in vocalic *sandhi* action between the elidable *saṁvṛta a* and the non-elidable *-u* of Mal. is well recognized and explained in the fourteenth century grammar, Lñ. III. 5, vyākhyā :—ukāraḥ tu ardhamātrikāḥ. yaḥ *kut'triyalugara* iti pāṇḍyair bhānyate. ato nāsyā sphuṭam pratibhāṣaḥ. marū ityādau ukārāntwapeksa tasya na lopah. ekamātrikatwāt. na khalu marū ityucyamāne ukāra pratibhāṣaḥ yathā ad̄ ityatra,

(i) Final *-a* of optatives like *vâlga* (may one prosper !) is optionally elided in ancient Tamil :

selg-ena—PN, 83; PP, II, 177.

olig-ena—S, Nâd., 164.

kalaig-ena—M, Ad., 67.

Instances where the elision is absent are also available :—

vâlga-ă-avan kaṇṇi—[P, 20]

valaṅguga-ă-aduppē—[P, 18]

pâruga-ă-end're—[S. Nâd., 164]

nîṅguga-ă-end'râṅgu—[M, Ad., 69]

peruga-ă-iṅgu—[S, X, 244]

(ii) In colloquial Tamil *-a* of the relative participle is lost in the familiar compounds *pirand-ām* ('the house where one was born' the parents' house of the daughter-in-law), *pukk-ām* ('the house to which one goes' the husband's house of the daughter-in-law).

Elision of *-a* also occurs in the following :—*and-ām* (that house), *and-andai* (that side), *and-accu* (that type) in which *-a* of *anda* (that) is elided; *sinn-anna* (the younger among the elder brothers), *periy-appa* (elder uncle), *vell-ānai* (white elephant).

In rapid colloquial enunciation, one hears *elirkku* for *eli-yirukku*, *pônedam* for *pôna-ă-idam* (the place to which one went), *enig-enge* for *enig-ă-ēngē*, etc.

On the whole, elision of vowels in vocalic junction in literary Tamil is very limited. Except in connection with *-u* and with the other instances in literary Tamil mentioned above, the tendency of literary Tamil is to set its face against elision, and herein perhaps it preserves the genius of the parent speech unaltered in the main.

Malayâlam.

According to Lîlâtîlakam (III, 1, vyâkhyâ), the vowels *a*, *â*, *i*, *î*, *u*, *û*, *e*, *ê*, *o*, *ô*, and the diphthong *ai* occur in Mal. in initial positions, while finally all the above sounds except

short *o* and except the diphthongs *ai* and *au*, are met with;⁷ further, *ə* (a sound corresponding to the Tamil *kut'triyalugaram u*) also occurs in final positions.

1. The Mal. sound *ə*, described as *samvṛta* [L, III, 1], besides occurring in all those positions in which the corresponding Tamil sound *u* is found, is allowed as a final sound in Mal. in the following contexts:

(i) Optionally in connection with final *l*, *l̄*, *n*, *n̄* and *r* [L, III, 24], (except in intimate compounds) in instances like *kanṇə* (beside *kan* 'eye'), *kallə* (beside *kal* 'stone'), *ponna* (beside *pon* 'gold') in which the final *l*, *l̄*, *n*, *n̄* appear doubled after the short radical vowel of dissyllabic words, in instances like *viralə* (beside *viral* 'finger'), *curulə* (beside *curul* 'curl'), where the words have more than two syllables, and in words like *ārə* (beside *ār* 'who ?'), *kâlə* (beside *kâl* 'leg') with long basic vowels followed by short *l*, *r*, etc.⁸

It has to be observed that while Tamil grammars do not recognize the use in literary compositions of the final *u* after

⁷ It is interesting in this connection to note the differences between Tamil and Mal. in this respect :—

(1) -*ai* does not occur finally in Mal. Tam. -*ai* is replaced in Mal. by (i) -*a* in noun-bases like *tali* (head), *maṭa* (rain), (ii) -*e* in accusatives like *avan-e* [Tam. *avan-ai*] ; cf. colloquial Tam. accusative ending -*e* < -*ai*.

(2) Short *o* is absent in Mal. Even in Tam. it occurs only in *no*.

(3) -*au* is absent in Mal.; even in Tamil it is met with only in *kau-* (to bite) and *vau-* (to pillage).

(4) Mal. *samvṛta* has the value of *ə* in some contexts. For this, see below.

(5) Final *â*, *u*, *û*, *ô* have optionally incorporated the dorsal off-glide, as in *mâvə*, *mâ* (mango-tree); *puluv-v-ə*, *pulu* (worm); *pû-v-ə*, *pû* (flower); *gô-v-ə*, *gô* (Skt. 'cow'). This off-glide has been discussed by me in my "Dravidic Glides".

⁸ In the colloquial, the enunciative is embodied almost always (except in intimate compounds) before pauses and consonants in words like *kanṇə*, *kâlə*. The pronouns *ñān*, *avan*, *aval*, *avar* and the participial nouns involving the three last-mentioned forms do not generally embody *ə*. Original dissyllabic (and trisyllabic) words do not generally have *ə*,

l, n, l, n, r in the contexts (*i.e.*, before consonants following) in which Mal. allows the use of the optional forms with final *a*, forms like *kannu* (beside *kan* ‘eye’), *kâlu* (beside *kâl* ‘leg’), *âru* (beside *yâr* ‘who?’), *veralu* (beside *veral* ‘finger’) occur in the Tam. colloquial before pauses and before words with initial consonants. The Tamil grammars have not recognized this colloquial feature, while in Mal. recognition has been given to it by all grammars from the time of Lîlâtîlakam, which work (in the *vyâkhyâs* to III, 23 and 24) expressly permits forms with *samvṛta u^o* like *tôlə* (beside *tôl* ‘skin’), *kallə* (beside *kal* ‘stone’).

(ii) I have pointed out above that according to strict grammatical rules the final sound in Tam. *kadavu* (door), *puravu* (dove), etc. is *u* and not *ū*, though in vocalic *sandhi* the *u* here behaves like *ū* in that it is elided before a following vowel. In Mal., such words as *alavə* (measurement), *kalavə* (theft) are definitely recognized as having a final *samvṛta u* [L, III, 22—*vâdardhamâtrokârah*]. The discrepancy between the Tamil grammatical rule and Tamil literary vocalic *sandhi* action in connection with these words does not exist in Mal.

(iii) Again, it has been noted that in Tam. colloquial and in comparatively late literary Tam. *sandhi*, the value of the final vowel in the words for ‘that’ and ‘this’ is that of *ū* and not of *u*: *adu*, *idu*, though according to strict grammatical rules and to the early literary usage the final sound is a *mut'triyal-ugaram u*. For Mal., however, Lîlâtîlakam [III, 5] expressly describes the final sound of *adə* as the *samvṛta u*. Apparently, the colloquial practice of giving the value of a

^o In Mal. forms like *kun'n'a* (hill), *maññə* (mist, fog), *marun'n'a* (medicine), the final *a* is constant and compulsory because the groups *n'n'*, *ññ* and *n'n'* respectively of *kun'n'a*, *maññə* and *marun'n'a* are derived from older consonant groups in which plosives are involved :

n'n' (of *kun'n'a*) < *nd'*

n'n' (of *marun'n'a*) < *n'd*

ññ (of *maññə*) < *ñj*

Older *mend'rodar* consonant groups are involved here, and the compulsory enunciative (-*ū* in Tamil) is normal.

samvṛta to the final sound here, has been given express recognition to in literary Mal. Instances in which the earlier literary Tamil tradition is preserved in Mal. are also not wanting:—*adu-v-ē kāṇ* [Bhg., 2, 23] beside *idu-v-um-kēl* in 6, 11 of the same fourteenth century text.

Summing up, one may say that except in dissyllabic words like *maru* (wart), *naḍu* (middle), *kuru* (boil), *pulu* (worm) in which a short basic vowel is followed by a single consonant, the final *ugaram* sound in Mal. (whenever and wherever it occurs) has always the value of a *samvṛta*, i.e., the value of *a* in Mal.

This *samvṛta* sound of Mal. is a more open and frontalized sound than the corresponding *u* of Tamil. It is very like the “neutral” vowel in the second syllables of the English words *water*, *better*, etc. It preserves this quality only before pauses and to a certain extent before words with initial back consonants. That its immediate ancestor¹⁰ in the history of Mal. was a sound like Tam. *u* is clear from the fact that in word-compounds and in intimate phrasal combinations where the first word has the *samvṛta* as the final sound and the second word has an initial consonant, the value of the *samvṛta* in Mal. has a strong tendency to revert to *u*. Cf. the following:—

- (1) *i nāḍə* (this land) — *a* in *nāḍə* before pause;
nāḍu kadattuga (to exile) — *u* [or *ü*] before a consonant.
- (2) *oru ketṭə* (one bundle) — *a* before a pause;
ketṭu policcu (the bundle was opened) — *u* before consonant.
- (3) *on'n'um-on'n'um rendə* (one plus one makes two) — *e* before a pause;
rendu pāvaññal (two poor creatures) — *u* before consonant.

¹⁰ The change of older *-u* to *-a* in Mal. (before pauses) should have occurred prior to the 18th century, inasmuch as an inscription of this period shows many instances without the symbol for *-u* or *-ü*—TAS., III, pp. 81, 82.

This Mal. *ə* is invariably elided before a following vowel within breath-groups and meaning-groups in the colloquial and in modern prose, and in poetry within the pauses prescribed for verse-units.

(2) Subject to the rule relating to *ə* (*u*) and to the exceptions mentioned below in 3, the junction of vowels in *sandhi* contexts gives rise to the production of a semi-vocalic glide-sound. I have discussed these glides elsewhere.

(3) Elision of vowels in cases other than that of the *samvrta u* is not mentioned in L; but numerous types occur in literary usage.

(i) Optatives¹¹ of the type of *vâlga* (may one rule!) have been used in Mal. from the earliest periods as polite imperatives. The final *-a* of such forms is in poetry commonly elided, though instances where there is no elision, also occur:

nilk-adellâm (let all that wait!) — RC, 34

—used here as a third personal optative.

unarttug-end'ân (he said, "make him aware") — RC, 267

—used here as 'polite imperative'.

arig-en'n'u (saying 'know thou!') — KR, 6.

n'i ceyg-en'n'ê (saying 'do thou') — KR, Ar., 153.

grahikk-en'n'u (saying 'understand thou') — Bhg, 6, 12.

viлаniug-ennil — KG, 20.

parag-en'n'u (saying 'communicate thou') — EAR. Kis., 343.

kâdan'n'iðug-em-bôt'tî — US, I, 90.

The following are instances where there is no elision :

enikku tuṇayâga-ÿ-idinê (may he be of support to me!) — RC, 7.

enikk-ariyikka-ÿ-en'n'u (saying 'inform me') — KR, Ar., 4.

kânga-ÿ-en'n'e (saying 'see thou') — Bhg, 11, 1.

¹¹ According to TS, 226, these optatives are used only in the third person in Tamil; but even in old Tam., they began to be used for the first and second persons.

In old Mal. they were used for the second and third persons, while in late Mal. they are restricted to the second person as polite imperatives. In Kann. they are used only for the third person,

kāṅga-y-apūrvamāya....(see thou the unique....)—Bhg, 11, 2.

(ii) The final vowels of the first constituents of some intimate word-compounds are sometimes elided :

pōṭṭi-ivan [*pōṭṭe+ivan*] (let him go).

kar-ēri [*kara+ēri*] (having got into a safe landing place, ‘to climb’).

vēṇṇa katt-unni (‘the infant who stole butter’)—used to describe infant Śrī Krishna—*katta+unni*.

pet't'-amma (the mother who delivered the child) used to emphasise the intimacy of relationship between mother and son—*pet't'a+amma*.

vali-acchan—[*valia+acchan*].

evid-evide—[*evide+evide*].

(iii) Final *-a* of the verbal relative participles is elided in the older texts in certain instances :

paraññ-âre (on saying) from older *parañña-Ṅ-ârē*.

vadivull-ānavadivu—RC 1.

vand-arigale (the enemies who came)—RC, 330.

pēppedun'n'-aracan (the king who fears)—RC, 12.

molind-alavu (on saying)—RC, 137.

ariññ-arivu (the knowledge that has been acquired)—Bhg, 6, 8.

alud-alavē (on weeping)—Bhg, 2, 6.

vil muriññ-occa (the noise produced by the breaking of the bow)—EAR, Bâl.

Instances like *van'n'-ōr-âl* [*van'na+or+âl*] (the person who came), used in poetry, show the elision of *-a* of the relative participle *van'n'a*. In *van'n'-ēdām* (the place to which one came), commonly heard in the colloquial, there is elision of *-a* of *van'n'a*, together with the lengthening of *e* of *ēdām* [< *idām*].

(iv) Final *-a* of the Infinitive when used in the old texts as a participle governing an immediately following verb is often elided before a following vowel in old texts :

ēr-aluvān (for weeping too much) where *ēra* is an infinitive participle derived from *ēr-* (to grow)—KR, Âr., 68,

ēr-eriññu (blazed greatly)—Bhg, 11, 6.

tēr-arudagiya (what was difficult of comprehension)—Bhg, 2, 18.

ilag-on' n'-âritadunêram (at the time when shouted so loudly as to agitate the enemies)—KR, 119.

okk-eduitu (took entirely)—RC, 38.

In *ceyy-aruda* (should not be done), *ceyy-aite* (let me, him, her, it do) [*< ceyya + oīt-ē*], *ceyy-âm* (may be done), the first constituent is an Infinitive with -a which in these forms is always elided in old and new Mal. alike. *ceyy-anam* (should be done) is a contraction of *ceyya + vênam* [*< vênum < vêndum*], entailing elision of -a of *ceyya*.

(v) -u of *oru*, the adjectival numeral for 'one', is elided in expressions like *or-âl*; cf. Tam. *or-âyiram* (one thousand).

In expressions like *van'n'-eñgil* [beside *van'n'u-ÿ-eñgil* (if one came)], I think that originally the vowel elided was -u, since the Mal. finite verb *van'n'u* (came) is presumably a development in Mal. from an older *samvṛta u* (or a near sound) which was the final of the verb-stem at the time when the endings were dropped in Mal. It was the *samvṛta* sound that suffered elision in instances like *van'n'-eñgil* [cf. KP, p. 106].

(vi) -e of the singular genitive ending -nd'e is sometimes elided : *end'ullam tagarn'n'idun'n'u* (my mind is being shattered) —OT, p. 258. *pōt̄-ivan* (let him go) beside *pōt̄e-ÿ-ivan*, is sometimes used in poetry. In *ceyyâd-irun'n'u*, beside *ceyyâde-ÿ-irun'n'u* (he remained without doing), *vêr-oru-kâryam* beside *vêre-ÿ-oru-kâryam* (another matter), *mumb-irun'n'u* beside *mumbe-y-irun'n'u* (sat in front) [US, I, 3], there need not necessarily have been elision of e; for -ê in *ceyyâdê*, *vêrê*, *mumbê* is an emphatic particle annexed to the original forms *ceyyâdu*, *vêru* and *mumbu*. These original forms had the *samvṛta* as their finals, which suffered elision according to the general rule¹² relating to the meeting of a *samvṛta* and another vowel in sandhi contexts.

¹² In instances like the following also, occurring in old texts, no elision need be postulated in view of the original nature of the bases :

Kannada

1. Final *-u* of all Kannada words except dissyllabic ones with short radical vowels followed by short consonants, like *naḍu* (middle), *pulu* [hulu] (worm), is elided when meeting other vowels :

nân-illi-nânu (I) + *illi* (here) ;

iddan-alli-iddanu (he remained) + *alli* (there) ;

kâḍ-adu-kâḍu (forest) + *adu* (that) ;

kulit-iddanu-kulitu (sitting) + *iddanu* (he remained) ;

but *pulu-Ṅ-illa* (there is no worm), *naḍu-Ṅ-idu* (this is the middle), etc., show that *-u* of *pulu*, *naḍu*, etc., is not elided.

Practically, then, the difference in *sandhi* action between the non-elidable *-u* of dissyllabic words like *pulu*, *naḍu*, and the elidable *-u* of other words corresponds to the difference (in vocalic *sandhi*) between the non-elidable Tam. *mut'r'iyal-ugaram u* and the elidable *kut'r'iyal-ugaram ui*.

The following points, however, are noteworthy :

(i) There is no difference in the phonetic character or value of the elidable *u* and the non-elidable *u* in Kannada ; both have the same sound-value, viz., that of a rounded labial *u*.

(ii) Kannada grammarians, therefore, have not prescribed expressly the distinction between the contexts where elidable *-u* occurs and those where the non-elidable *-u* may occur.

(iii) Kannada¹³ shows (like post-*śangam* Tamil) optional

Old *iv-ellâm* (all these) — KR, Ār. 8 — modern *iva-y-ellâm*.

-iv- appears as a "neuter" plural demonstrative base in Tamil; cf. Nâlađi *avvum*.

Old *ill-en'n'* (to the effect that there is not....) beside more modern *illa-y-en'n'-*. *il* (not) is the base ; cf. Tam. *ill-end'r-*, Kann. *ill-end-*.

¹³ In Kann. consonantal *sandhi*, the difference between the elidable *-u* and the non-elidable *-u* becomes important in one context, viz., the change of *r* > *r* and of *ɖ* > *ɭ* before consonants following [see *infra*] : *mâṛ(u)+kôl=mâṛkôl*; but *kiru+kôl=kiru-gôl*. *kiru* being a dissyllabic word with short vowels and consonants, the final *u* is not elided ; the meeting of *r* with the following consonant is barred, and the change of *r* > *r* does not take place. Similarly in *kâl-kircu* [= *kâḍ(u)+kircu*], the final *-u* of *kâḍu* is elided, while in *kaḍu-gampu* the final *-u* of *kaḍu* is not elided.

elision of -u of *adu*, *idu*, in instances like *adum* beside *adu-ÿ-um* as in Šmd.; *adê* (even that) beside *adu-v-ê* [CA, p. 41].

The elision of -u before other vowels is referred to in Bhbh, 19 and 20; Šmd, 52; and ŠŚ, 36. In these *sûtras* the elision of -u is considered together with the elision of other sounds. The absence of elision in the case of the -u of words like *nađu* and *hulu* is envisaged by a general statement in all the three grammars that "sounds should not be elided when the sense is destroyed". This perhaps is not a quite satisfactory explanation of the absence of elision in *nađu*, *hulu*, etc.; for, though the avoidance of the impairing of the sense is one of the factors underlying the absence of elision in some instances, the more prominent reason is connected with the principle of "syllabic distribution" underlying the constitution of Dravidian words and the effect that this has produced on the quality of the non-elidable u on the one hand and the elidable sound on the other.

2. The link-sounds *ÿ* and *v* crop up between two meeting vowels in the circumstances described by me in my paper "Dravidic Glides". In that paper of mine I have dealt with the resemblances and differences between Kannada and the Dravidian speeches with reference to the character and occurrence of these semi-vocalic glides.

3. Elision of vowels (other than the elidable -u) in *sandhi* contexts is provided for in Bhbh, 19 and 20, Šmd, 52 and ŠŚ, 36. The *Sûtras* of Bhbh. and ŠŚ. are very general propositions, while the Šmd. rule specifically points out that "elision of a vowel during vocalic junction occurs in inflectional endings and *prakrti* endings of Sanskrit and Kannada words, so long as the meaning is not impaired thereby".

(i) Among inflectional endings,¹⁴ -a of the sixth case ending; -e of the fourth case ending -ke, -ge; and of the fifth and

¹⁴ It has to be noted that the vowels elided in these inflectional endings are special developments in Kannada, which are not met with in the cognate Tamil endings:

-a of the genitive—cf. Tam. *mâv-in-elai* (leaf of the mango tree).

the seventh case endings *-inde*; and *-i* of the eighth case termination *-alli*, are elided :—

mâvin-ele (leaf of mango tree)—*mâvina+ele*.

avan-aṅgamam (his limbs)—*avana+aṅgamam*—JBh., 28, 25.

kāḍ-emme (forest buffalo)—JBh.

sālagrāmad-ondu ramaṇīya śile (a beautiful stone of the sālagrāma variety)—*sālagrāmada+ondu*—JBh, 28, 22.

kolag-eḷasi (having desired to kill)—*kolage+eḷasi*—JBh, 28, 30.

alṭiyind-esadu (having become gratified with pleasure)—*alṭiyinde+esadu*—JBh, 28, 20.

neladall-irdam (he sat on the ground)—*neladalli+irdam*.

yatnadal-ēnu (what good lies in herculean efforts ?)—CA.

(ii) Elision of vowels is prescribed for instances like the following :

dāl-iṭṭam (he made an attack)—*dāli+iṭṭam*.

kūḍ-irdam (he remained together)—*kūdi+irdam*.

In instances like these, the final *-i* is followed by another *i*, and wherever the meaning is not impaired, *i-* is elided.

(iii) I find the *-a* of the Relative verbal participle elided in some instances in the texts :

kāṇḍa kāṇḍ-abaleyar (those women who saw)—JBh, 20—

-a of *kāṇḍa* is elided before *a-* of *abaleyar*.

kāṇḍ-ātaṅge-ÿ-ēke kannādi ? (what is the use of a mirror for a blind man ?)—CA, p. 7.

(iv) In *aras-âl* [*arasa+âl*], *acc-âne* [*acca+âne*], *-a* which meets another *a-*, is elided.

(v) The final vowels of *matte* (other, next), *munne* (formerly, etc.) *muñce*, *balige* (near, towards), *balika* (afterwards), *hāge*, *hīge*, *hēge*, *olage* (inside), *allige* (there), *mellage* (slowly), *summane* (quietly), etc., are elided before vowels following, in

-ge of the dative—cf. Tam. *-k u-*

-inde of the instrumental—cf. Kann. *-inda*, *-in*, etc.

-alli of the locative—cf. *-alu*, the old Kann. locative ending [Kittel's Gr., p. 42].

In view of this, it is probable that elision here was helped by an older tradition in Kannada.

literary texts and in the colloquial (wherever the forms concerned are used). -e in some of these instances, not being an organic part of the word-bases, suffers easy elision. Elision is allowed in all these instances because the meanings are nowhere impaired thereby.

(vi) In comparatively late texts, the elision of vowels is optional in the following :

maneyalli-ÿ-û or *maneyallû* (also in the house)

dêvarage-ÿ-ê or *devaragê* (to the god indeed).

mâdidiri-ÿ-adannu or *mâdidiradannu* (you did it).

bandare-y-ênu or *bandarênu*.

mâduttêne-y-âddarinda or *mâduttênâddarinda*.

kodade-ÿ-iddanu or *kodadiddanu* (he remained without giving).

summane-y-iddanu or *summaniddanu* (he kept quiet).

Two things are noteworthy in these instances :

(i) *mâdidiri* (you did) and *mîdultêne* (I do) are modern forms, the correspondents of which in the older dialect are *mâdidir* and *mâdidapam* which had consonantal finals. No question of vocalic elision was, therefore, involved in these instances. -i of later *mâqidir-i* is a special Kann. development.

(ii) Final -e of Kann. *kodade* and *devarage*, when compared to Tam. *kodâdu* and *têvarkkai*, reveals itself as a special Kann. development.

(iii) The optional retention of the final vowels in some of the above instances like *mâdidiri*, *devarage* points to the old tradition (of elision) having fallen into desuetude.

The tendency to elide final vowels (other than the elidable *ugaram*) before other vowels is on the whole stronger in Kann. than in Tamil, even when allowance has been made for the fact that some of the instances of elision in Kann. may have been facilitated (or even started) by an older tradition in which these particular vowels were not involved.

Telugu

1. In vocalic junction, the final -u of all Telugu words and forms is elided before another vowel [AC, 18].

-u in final positions of Telugu words appears in the literary dialect after all consonants except after the consonantal druta *n* in certain contexts and after *l* and *r* in the oldest literary texts and inscriptions; in the colloquial, this *-u* appears (with greater or lesser distinctness) after all consonants in final positions, except *-m-*.

The distinction observed in Tamil between *mut't'riyal-ugaram* and *kul't'riyal-ugaram* does not exist in Telugu either in respect of the sound-value or in respect of the behaviour in *sandhi* contexts, since (for historical reasons) vocalic *sandhi* contexts involving purely dissyllabic words with short vowels and consonants (similar to those in which Tam. has *mut't'riyal-ugaram*) ceased to exist in the pre-literary period.

2. For the discussion of semi-vocalic link-sounds in literary and colloquial Telugu, see my paper on "Dravidic Glides".

3. Elision of vowels other than *-u* occurs in a number of contexts in Telugu :—

(i) *-i*¹⁵ of the second person pronominal endings of finite verbs is always elided before another following vowel:

cêsitiv-appudu (thou didst it then)—*cêsitivi* + *appudu*

cûcitr-ella—*cucitiri* + *ella*

(ii) *-i* of the first person and third person plural pronominal endings of verbs is optionally elided :

vacciri-ŷ-ellaru or *vaccir-ellaru* (all persons came).

untimi-ŷ-accada or *untim-accada* (we remained there).

(iii) Final *-i* (and *-a*) of personal names, when compounded with the honorific appellatives *amma*, *ayya*, *akka*, etc., is elided: *lakṣmamma*—*lakṣmi* + *amma*; in *sitamma* [*sita* + *amma*], *subbappa* [*subba* + *appa*], *-a* is elided.

¹⁵ The *i* of this group and of the next appears to be a special development in Tel. The corresponding forms in Tamil have final consonants. What is now described as elision (from a later standpoint) was possibly merely the juxtaposition of the initial vowel of the following word to the final consonant of the form in an original stage.

(iv) Final vowels of words denoting 'measure', 'weight', etc., when combined with the word *e[ŋ]du*, an affix meaning 'full' are always elided:

putṭi-e[ŋ]du (candy-full)—*putṭi+e[ŋ]du*;

(*gump-e[ŋ]du* basket-full)—*gumpa+e[ŋ]du*.

(v) Final *-a* of certain words and forms is always elided, before *âku* (leaf), *anta* (the whole), and *êsi* (at the rate of): *cint-âku* (leaf of the *cinta* plant) [*cinta+âku*; *â-* becomes *â*]; *cêt-anta* (the whole of the dust-bin) [*cêta+anta*]; *gumpc[ŋ]d-êsi* (by basketfuls).

In *mâmid-âku* beside *mâmidi-ÿ-âku*, *kobbar-âku*, beside *kobbara-ÿ-âku*, etc., the elision is optional.

(vi) Final *-a* of the first constituents of popular compounds like the following suffers elision :

cinnatta (younger aunt)—*cinna+atta*.

cinnalludu (younger son-in-law)—*cinna+alludu*.

pedd-anna (elder brother)—*pedda* (big)+*anna*.

[cf. Tam. colloquial *śinn-aṇṇa* (the younger or youngest of the elder brothers) where there is elision of *-a* of *śinna* (small).]

Tel. *pull-âvu* (brown cow)—*pulla+âvu*.

batt-eddu (dappled ox)—*baṭṭa+eddu*.

err-âvu (red cow)—*erra+âvu*.

[cf. Tam. colloquial *vell-ānai* (white elephant).]

(vii) In the following popular word-collocations, elision of *-a* is optional :

putṭin-illu (house where one is born) *putṭina-y-illu*.

[cf. Tam. colloquial *pirand-ām* with the same meaning as the above; here too *-a* of *piranda* is elided.]

râk-uṇḍēnu (he remained without coming), *râka-ÿ-uṇḍēnu*.

vân-ekkuva (excess of rain), *vâna-y-ekkuva*.

śram-ekkuva (excess of effort), *śrama-y-ekkuva*.

(viii) Elision of *-a* of the sixth case plural termination is met with in certain instances from the time of Bhârata downwards :—

râjul-âjñā (the order of the kings)—*râjula+âjñā*.

tallul-odda (near the mothers)—*tallula+odda*.

(ix) Though the Atharvaṇa-kârikâvalî expressly mentions that the final vowel *-i* of verbal past participles is not elided, instances of elision exist in texts, particularly when the vowel that follows itself is *i* :

cûc-iṭu-rammu [*cûci* ‘having seen’ + *iṭu* ‘here’ + *rammu* ‘come ye’].

eri[ñ]g-eri[ñ]gi (having known well or continually) in Bhâgavata, while Bhârata has *erîngi-ÿ-erîngi*.

adig-icc [*adigi* ‘having called’ + *icc-* ‘to give’].

In the iteration of past participles, like *adig-adigi* (having called continually), *icc-icci* (having given continually), the *-i* of the first constituent is permitted by some grammarians.

For the elision of *-i* of the past participle, when followed by another *i*-, cf. Kann. *kûdiddaru* (they remained together).

(x) *-i* of *êmi* (what ?), of a number of nouns like *taṇḍri* (father), *peṇḍli* (marriage), *vendî* (silver), of pronouns like *adi* (that), *avi* (those), of the numerals *enimidi* (eight), *tommidi* (nine), *padi* (ten), and of the negative verbal participles with *-ani*, is optionally elided :¹⁶

êm-anṭivi (what didst thou say ?), *êmi-y-anṭivi*.

ad-êmi (what is that ?), *adi-ÿ-êmi*.

rân-atlu, *râni-ÿ-aṭlu*.

(xi) Initial *a-* of *adi*, *avi* is sometimes elided when these are suffixed to other words: in *kavidi* (belonging to the poet). *vânidi*, *vâridi*, *dânidi*, *tôdidi*, there is constant elision; after *-â* or *-a*, as in *nâ-y-adi* beside *nâdi*, *tana-y-adi* beside *tanadi*, the elision is said to be optional [instances in Bhârata not showing

¹⁶ It may be noted that in at least some forms of this set, the final *-i* is a special development in Telugu; it is therefore possible that what is described as elision of *-i* from the Telugu standpoint, may have been facilitated by an older condition in which no question of *-i* arose: cf. the following:

adi (that)—Tam. *adu*, Kann. *adu*.

tommidi—Tam. *onbadu*.

vâyi (mouth)—Tam. *vây*.

telivi (clearness, understanding)—Tam. *telivu*.

êni, *ênin*—Tam. *âyin*, *ayin-um*.

elision]; the so-called *sambhandārthaka* ending (with *adu*) shows elision of *a*- in instances like *nâ-du sommu*, *tanadu kirti* [AC, 63].

(xii) In popular compounds like *tâtamma*, *ammamma*, *nâyanamma*, *nânnâ*, the second constituent loses its initial.

Tulu

The vowels occurring in final positions of Tulu words are *a*, *â*, *i*, *î*, *u*, *û*, *e*, *ê*, *o*, *ô*, *æ* and *uu*; initially, all the above sounds except *a* and *uu* are found.

1. The sound *uu* and its relative *u* appearing instead of *u* under the influence of *u* in a preceding syllable (*vide* my paper on "Tulu Prose Texts", *BSOS*, 1933) are elided within breath-groups and verse-units before another following vowel:

ên-i saṅgatinuu pinæye (I know nothing of this matter)—
enuu+î.

tûd-itte (he had seen)—*tûdu+itte.*

gelluuđ-itteruu (they were on the branch)—*gelluuđuu+itteruu.*

âkul-aiț-itteruu (they were there)—*âkuluu+aițuu+itteruu.*

In *tûdu* (having seen) [past verbal participle of *tû-* (to see) and *âkuluu* (they)], the final sound is an elidable *-u*, the rounded character of which is due to the influence of the *u* of the preceding syllable.

There is a non-elidable final *-u* (as in Tam., Mal. and Kann.) in Tulu in dissyllabic forms with short radical vowels followed by a single consonant, as in *nađu* (middle), *pulu*, *puru* (worm), *kađu* (pungency). When this *-u* meets another following vowel, link-sounds are produced.

2. Link-sounds crop up in Tulu, as in other south Dravidian speeches, between meeting vowels, whenever there is no elision; I have discussed this topic in my "Dravidic Glides".

3. The following types of vocalic elision are observable in Tulu :

(i) -*i* of *oñji* (one), *mûji* (three), *âji* (six) is elided before another following vowel :—

oñj-êđu (one goat)—*oñji+êđu.*

mûj-oñtae (three camels).

âj-ânae (six elephants).

mûj-adi (three sacred footsteps of Viñu).

Now, these Tuļu forms correspond to Tamil *ond'rū* (one), *münd'rū* (three), *ârū* (six) where the final vowel *u* is always elided in the junction of vowels ; it seems that *-i* in the Tuļu forms is a special development. What now looks like the elision of *-i* (from the standpoint of Tuļu) in *oñj-êdu*, etc. may possibly have involved originally only the elision of a final *u* which before pauses and before consonants changed to *-i* in Tuļu.

(ii) The genitival *-a* is elided before vowels in intimate compounds :

marad-iræ (leaf of tree)—*marada+ira*.

nird-êrikæ (fullness of water)—*nîrda+êrika*.

(iii) Vocalic elision exists in compounds like *santôṣ-âdu* (with pleasure) [*santôṣa+âdu* (having become)], *prayatn-ante* (made efforts) [*prayatna+ante*], *sikn-iddi* (not obtainable) [*sikkuna+iddi*], *samśay-âtuñdu* (there was doubt) [*samśaya+âtundu* (became)], *kandant-ari* (the rice of the field) [*kandanta+ari*], *môs-ampuṇa* (to deceive) [*môsa+ampuṇa*], *enç-âñdalâ* (however) [*enca+âñdalâ*], etc.

(iv) The initial vowel of the second constituent is elided in instances like the following :

popæ-ntu (saying ' I shall go ')—*pôpæ+uuntu* or *antu*.

pôpæ-degu (I shall go there)—*pôpæ+adegü*.

pôpæ-ñdalâ (though I shall go)—*pôpæ* [-æ is lengthened to compensate the loss of *â-*] + *âñdalâ*.

Other Speeches

Winfield [Gr., p. 2] points out that in intimate compounds and phrases like *tla-inba*, *pri-nba*, the final *-u* [corresponding to the south Dravidian elidable *-u* or *-u* (of Tam.) and occurring (in Kûi) after all final consonants of words] is elided.

In Gôndi, Kurukh and Brâhû, words and forms are so commonly *halanta* that contexts of vocalic junction are very much fewer than in south Dravidian,

	Tamil	Malayālam	Kannada	Telugu	Tulu	Kūñi
1. Final <i>-u</i> of dissyllabic bases with short radical vowels and short consonants, not elided Exceptions: <i>adu, idu</i>	<i>pudu-č-idu</i> (this is a worm)	<i>pudu-č-idu</i>	<i>kudu-č-idu</i>	<i>cf. gara-v-anige</i>		
late Tamil elision of <i>-u</i>		optional elision in old Mal., constant elision in late Mal.	<i>optional elision -ef. adē [JBh, 40]</i>		<i>-u</i>	<i>optional elision of the final vowel of ati, idi</i>
<i>oru, iru</i>	<i>or-č-yiram</i> (one thousand) beside <i>or-č-yiram</i>		<i>-θ, u-</i>		<i>-uu, -u</i>	<i>-u</i>
2. <i>-u</i> or a sound allied to <i>-u</i> is elided before vowels following			<i>-u</i>			
3. While the general rule is that, apart from the types mentioned above, there is no elision of vowels, there are certain exceptional categories showing elision:						
(i) <i>-a</i> of the optative	optionally elided					
(ii) <i>-a</i> of the past Relative participle is sometimes elided	colloquial <i>pukk-ām, pirand-ām</i>	old Mal. <i>vil-mariññ-ocea,</i> etc.: <i>pett' amma</i>				<i>optional in puttin-ilu.</i>

	Tamil	Malayālam	Kannada	Telugu	Tulu	Kūi
(iii) - <i>a</i> of the genitival ending			<i>marad-eś</i>	<i>rājul-ājñā</i>		<i>maraḍ-</i> <i>-īrc</i>
(iv) In intimate word-compounds	colloquial <i>and-andai</i> (that side), <i>cinn-amna</i> (younger of the elder brothers), etc.	<i>tal-ōḍ-</i> (to caress by stroking the hair), etc.	<i>kūḍ-indam</i> (he remained together), and a number of cases in which elision is permitted if meaning is not impaired	a number of instances of optional or compulsory elision		
(v) - <i>a</i> of the Infinitive participle	not elided	Frequent in intimate sequences in old Mal.; limited to <i>ceyy-aruda</i> , <i>pōg-atṭe</i> , etc.	not elided	—	elided in some instances like <i>cūc-iṭṭu-rammu</i>	
(vi) - <i>i</i> of the Past participle	elision only in rapid colloquial, when - <i>i</i> meets - <i>i</i>	—	—	elided when meeting another - <i>i</i> , as in <i>kūḍ-indam</i>		

STUDIES IN BIRD-MYTHS

No. XLVII

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITEA, M.A., B.L.

[On a Papuan Myth about the Battle of the Birds and the Ant]

THE aborigines of Papua narrate the following didactic myth :
THE ANT AND THE PHEASANT.

An ant and a pheasant were great friends and used to go together ahunting. One day the ant, without the pheasant's knowledge, killed a hornbill who was the king of the birds. When the pheasant saw this, he was greatly horrified and informed all the birds about what the ant had done. The birds met together to consult and determined to kill the ant. Hearing this, the ant climbed up a tall tree and awaited the birds' attacks. When the birds came one by one and attacked the ant, the latter slew them one after another. Then he made up a covering of leaves and lived therein, being glad in his heart that he had killed all his enemies. However, one day a great raven came and tore up the leafy covering and devoured the ant.*

On carefully analysing the foregoing myth we find that :—

(a) It is a didactic myth because it teaches a great moral about the victory achieved by an insignificant enemy over powerful adversaries. The ant is a weak insect whereas his assailants were powerful and big birds who attacked him after banding themselves together.

(b) This thing about the victory achieved by a weak and insignificant creature over powerful and strong-bodied beasts is the favourite subject of many folk tales which are current among various races of people all over the world. (See, in this connection, my article entitled "On Beast Apologues of a New Type" which has been published in *Man in India*, Vol. VI, pp. 14-25.

* *Vide Folk Tales of All Nations.* By F. H. Lee. Published by George G. Harrap & Co., London, 1931, pp. 789-90.

(c) We find that the primitive savages like the Papuans believe that in ancient times, the birds and other creatures could hold conversations with each other and were capable of taking concerted action and that insignificant insects like the ant could understand the language of the birds.

(d) The primitive myth-maker has not done poetic justice in this case. He ought to have allowed the victorious ant to live in peace in his leafy covering. But, instead of doing this, he has done injustice to the victorious ant by allowing him to be eaten up by a great raven with whom he did not wage war.

(e) It is curious to find from this myth that both the hornbill and the pheasant inhabit the island of Papua and that the aborigines of that island are familiar with these birds. I think that they belong to species quite distinct from those which are found in India and Burma. It is unfortunate that the gentleman who has collected this and other Papuan myths has omitted to give the scientific names of these two birds.

(f) Similar myths describing the battle of the birds and creeping creatures like snakes are current among other savage peoples. For instance, among the Sema-Nagas, a savage tribe living in the Assam Hill Tracts, a myth is current which describes the battle of the birds and the snakes in which the birds are stated to have won the victory over the snakes. (See my article entitled "On a Sema-Naga Ætiological Myth about the Black Colour of the Jungle Crow, the Red Colour of the Scarlet Minivet and the Red Colour of the Chin of the Ruby Throat, in *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XXI, No. 1.) Then again among the Angami Nagas, another Mongoloid tribe of Assam, a similar myth about the battle of the birds and the snakes is current. In this myth also, the birds are described as having defeated the snakes. (See my paper entitled "On an Angami Naga Myth about the Battle of the Birds and the Snakes," in the same *Journal*, Vol. XXI, No. 4.)

STUDIES IN PLANT-MYTHS

No. XXV

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

[On a Papuan Aetiological Myth about the Evolution of the Cocoanut Palm]

PAPUA or New Guinea is a very large but little known island, to the north of Australia and immediately south of the equator, connecting the Indian archipelago with Polynesia. The Papuan aborigines are of small stature with very thick lips, wide nostrils, and woolly hair frizzed out to an enormous size. The men paint and tattoo their bodies. They have an interesting mass of folklore which include, among others, the bird-myths and plant-myths. Among the plant-myths is the following folk-tale entitled "*Where the Cocoanut Tree came from*" which explains the origin of the cocoanut palm:

WHERE THE COCOANUT TREE CAME FROM

Once upon a time, a man used to go to the sea-beach and, taking off his head from his trunk, used to keep it on the beach and then used to go into the water, when the fish used to go down his decapitated neck and get caught in the man's inside. Then he used to come to the shore and replacing his head upon his neck, go home with the fish. A boy saw all this. So none used to eat the fish which that man had caught. Hearing this story from the boy, other men followed that man to the sea-shore and watched the latter's doings from a distance. When the man had entered the sea water, one of the watchers took the head and threw it into the bush. When the man returned to the shore but did not find his head, he changed himself into a big fish and dived into the sea.

Then one of the catchers, after a few days, went to the bush and found that the head had grown into a tall and slender palm bearing some nuts. At first men feared to eat these nuts. But when they saw a woman eating the kernel of the nuts and anointing her body with the water thereof and no harm came of it, men began to eat the nuts and drink its water.

If the husk be taken off from the cocoanut, the man's face will be seen depicted on the shell.*

From a study of the foregoing aetiological myth we find that—

(a) The Papuans, though they are in a low plane of culture, have a keen faculty for observing the peculiarities of trees and fruits.

(b) Seeing that the cocoanut shell bore on its surface the facsimile of a human face and being unable to explain the origin thereof, they have invented this myth to account for the origin thereof.

(c) Like the Santals, the Papuans also believe that men could take off their heads from their bodies and replace the same thereupon at their own sweet will and pleasure.

(d) The Papuans also believe that men among them could at their own sweet will and pleasure dive, into the depth of the sea, and remain thereunder for a long time without being suffocated and then come to the surface of the water again.

(e) The Papuans also believed that men among them possessed the magical power of transforming themselves into fishes at their own sweet will and pleasure.

(f) They also believed that the parts of the human body possess the power of transforming themselves into trees and plants.

* *Vide Folk Tales of All Nations.* By F. H. Lee. Published by George G. Harrap & Co., London, 1931, pp. 799-801.

THE TWENTY-FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MYTHIC SOCIETY

Bangalore, August 7, 1935.

CHIEF JUSTICE H. D. C. REILLY
in the Chair

THE Twenty-fifth Annual Meeting of the Mythic Society was held in the Daly Memorial Hall on Wednesday, August 7, 1935, with Mr. H. D. C. Reilly, Chief Judge, High Court of Mysore, in the Chair.

In welcoming the distinguished Chairman of the evening, the President of the Society, Rajakaryaprasakta Rao Bahadur Mr. M. Shama Rao spoke as follows :

PRESIDENT'S SPEECH

GENTLEMEN,

Before commencing the proceedings of this evening, it is our first duty to offer our prayers to the Almighty for having so speedily restored our Royal Patron, His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, to normal health after his recent illness. You will all join with me in praying that His Highness may be spared for many years to come to rule over us.

I seek your permission to extend a hearty welcome on behalf of the Mythic Society to our worthy Chairman of this year's annual function Chief Justice H. D. C. Reilly. His reputation as a Judge on the Bench of the High Court of Madras had preceded him when he came to Mysore last year. Sir Alladi Krishnaswamy Iyer, the Advocate-General of Madras, when bidding good-bye on behalf of the Presidency Bar to Mr. Reilly, referred to his many merits as a Judge—the free flow of expression, the punctuated pause, the expressive gestures, and the marshalling of facts and arguments on either side, when dictating his judgments. It is now many years ago that my connection with the Public Service of Mysore ceased and I have no fear now of my judgments as a Magistrate undergoing any scrutiny at the hands of Justice Reilly. I can, therefore,

be taken to give true expression to the opinions expressed in our State regarding him. It is a pleasure to us all to hear from the members of the Bar as well as from the general public that Justice Reilly keeps up the same high standard of duty on the Bench of our High Court as he did when he adorned the Madras High Court Bench.

The Mythic Society, however, cannot be content with merely offering the worthy Chairman of this day a welcome based upon his reputation in Madras. I would therefore take him for the time being as an unknown Englishman and apply the tests to see whether he possesses the qualities which our experience of Englishmen in Mysore in the past has come to associate with them.

It was in 1751 that the English and the Mysoreans were for the first time brought into relationship at Trichinopoly as allies of Mohammad Ali when he was closely besieged by Chanda Saheb, the rival candidate for the Nawabship of Arcot. Mohammad Ali's envoy solicited the aid of the Mysore troops, in addition to the support given by the British troops sent by the Madras Government; and the Mysore Minister at the time, Karachuri Nanjarajaiah, complied with the request on promise of receiving in return the fort of Trichinopoly and the territories dependent on it. Subsequently, Mohammad Ali's conduct gave rise to some coolness between the English commanders and Nanjarajaiah but ultimately they parted as friends and the Mysore troops returned to Seringapatam without achieving any substantial result.

In the Second Mysore War, the English sustained a defeat at the Battle of Paliloor in 1780 and a number of English prisoners were taken, among whom were Colonel Baillie and Colonel Baird. When Colonel Baillie and his fellow-prisoners were taken before Haidar, the latter, it is stated, expressed regret at the fate that had overtaken the British Officers and placed a sum of Rs. 1,000 in the hands of Baillie exhorting him and his brethren to eat, drink, sleep and be happy. The English prisoners had to complete a long march of 240 miles from Paliloor to reach Seringapatam. On their way one of

the prisoners, Lindsay by name, suffered from dysentery. One day a Mysore Sepoy belonging to his escort approached Lindsay and offered to prepare and give him some medicine if he would take it. Lindsay agreed and after a short time, the Sepoy returned with a mixture of green pomegranate juice and some milk. This Lindsay drank and fell into a sleep and awoke much better. The Sepoy whose pay was only rupees six a month also offered one rupee to Lindsay which, however, the latter declined. When the march to Seringapatam began, the wounded British Officers were sent in dhoolies and country carts. Colonel Baillie and some others associated with him were provided with palanquins. On the first day's march Tippu came to Colonel Baillie and complimented him on his gallantry attributing his defeat to the vicissitudes of war. While Haidar was at Arcot, the English prisoners were kept in a tent and they were at intervals attended by an Indian medical man who examined and dressed their wounds. At the different places at which they halted, it is recorded, that the inhabitants treated them with sympathy and respect. After the prisoners reached Seringapatam, a French Surgeon was permitted to attend to and dress the still open wounds of the prisoners, while two or three Indian servants whom the prisoners had brought with them were also allowed to stay in prison and permitted to go to the bazaar to make purchases for them. These servants as well as the French Surgeon served as the media of communication for these prisoners both with the outside world as well as for hearing the rumours of what was going on. In September 1783, at the annual Dasara festival the English prisoners were allowed free scope to witness the sports and other demonstrations that took place in the open yard before the palace by Tippu's orders.

In February 1792, peace terminating the Third Mysore War having been concluded, the two hostages required in assurance of the due fulfilment of the terms of the treaty were sent to Lord Cornwallis' camp near Ganjam. These hostages were the two sons of Tippu—Abdul Khallik aged 10 and Mohiyuddin aged 8. As they arrived at the British camp, Sir John

Kennaway, the British envoy who negotiated the treaty, met the young Princes at the British outposts under a guard of honour and conveyed them with all respect within the British lines. As the elephants on which the Princes were seated escorted by a number of followers passed through the British lines, the British troops presented arms, officers in front saluting. Attended by his staff, Lord Cornwallis received them at the entrance of his tent, where after they had descended from their howdahs he embraced them and led them in taking each by the hand. When Lord Cornwallis had placed one on each side of him as he sat, Gulam Ali, the Principal Vakil of Tippu, surrendered them formally saying—"These children were till this morning the sons of my master. Their situation is now changed and they must look up to Your Lordship as their father." Cornwallis then assured the Vakil that his protection would be fully extended to his interesting hostages; and he spoke so kindly and cheerfully that he is said to have at once won the confidence of the two boys. To each boy Lord Cornwallis presented a gold watch and in return he was presented with a fine Persian sword.

In the Fourth Mysore War on the 4th May 1799 when Seringapatam was stormed and fell into the hands of the English, as the British troops arrived at Tippu's palace, a British military officer, Major Allan was directed by General Baird to proceed with a detachment to the palace and inform the inmates that their lives would be spared on condition of their immediate surrender. Major Allan having fastened a white cloth to a sergeant's spike proceeded to the palace and found that several of Tippu's people were in a balcony and communicated to them the instructions given to him by General Baird. The Killedar of the fort then came out of the palace and with him Major Allan and two other British Officers entered the palace. Major Allan found assembled there a large body of armed men. To inspire confidence, Allan explained that the flag he held in his hand was a pledge of security and taking off his sword, insisted on their receiving it. Tippu not being in the palace, two of his sons received

him seated on carpets and surrounded by a great many attendants. They desired Major Allan to sit down and Major Allan's feelings at that time may be given in his own words :— “The recollection of one of the princes, Mohiyuddin, whom on a former occasion I had seen delivered up with his brother as hostages to Marquiss Cornwallis, the sad reverse of their fortune, the thought that how much so ever their father deserved our resentment they were blameless, their fears which notwithstanding their struggles to conceal were but too evident, excited in me the strongest emotions of compassion. I took Mohiyuddin by the hand and persuaded him by every means in my power that no violence would be offered to anybody in the palace.” When the palace gates were opened, it was found that General Baird had arrived there with his troops and when he caught sight of the princes who were conducted to him, Baird though yet scarcely cooled from the fury of the storm, showed rare moderation and humanity in receiving them. He repeatedly assured them that no violence or insult would be offered to them and then he gave them in charge to Colonel Agnew and Captain Marriot to conduct them to the camp of the Commander-in-Chief escorted by a body of troops. As the Princes passed, the troops were ordered to pay them the compliment of presenting arms. Tippu was killed in the fight and his body after much search was deposited in the palace for the night.

It was midnight before Major Allan could return to his tent from Tippu's palace on the memorable day of the storming of the fort. It was no time, however, for him to take rest for any lengthy period. Returning to the fort the next morning Major Allan assisted in the burial of several of the fallen Mysore Officers. Colonel Arthur Wellesley, the famous future Duke of Wellington who had been appointed commander of the fort, sent guards to the houses of the principal men of the town to secure safety for their families. In order to stop plundering and molestation of the inhabitants on the part of some of the troops and their followers, Wellesley himself visited the houses of the principal officers of Tippu, gave them protection and

even went to the length of ordering the execution of four of the plunderers.

On the 5th May Tippu's funeral was arranged with all the honours due to his rank. His body was covered with fine muslins and rich cloths and placed in the State Palanquin. The bier carried by the servants of the palace was preceded by two companies of British troops with two companies in the rear. Meer Alum and other officers of the Nizam's service with Captain Malcolm and a great number of officers of the British army were at the gate of the Lal-Bagh and having paid their respects to the deceased, joined the procession. As the procession approached the Mausoleum, the British troops lined themselves on either side and as the bier passed, presented arms. A salute of minute guns corresponding to the age of the deceased was fired. The body was then placed next to that of Haidar Ali and the usual prayers and ceremonies being performed, Rs. 5,000 which had been given by order of Colonel Wellesley for the purpose, was distributed by the Kazi among the Fakirs and the poor who attended.

Lord Mornington decided to restore the old Hindu Royal family to power. But it was felt that both decorum and consideration for the feelings of the deposed family required that before the installation of the Hindu Raja on the throne of his ancestors, it was advisable and proper to remove Tippu's family from Seringapatam to Vellore, where Colonel Doveton the Commandant of the fort had been desired by Lord Mornington to spare no reasonable expenditure to render the habitation of the dispossessed family suitable to their former rank and expectations.

On the 24th June 1799 the Commissioners appointed by Lord Mornington proceeded to the house where the Mysore family resided and communicated the restoration to Rani Lakshmi Ammanni. The Rani expressed her lively sense of the clemency of the British Government which had raised her and her family from the depths of misery to their former station of elevation. To instal the Raja at Seringapatam was considered inexpedient, because it could only be done in

the Mahomedan palace where there were still residing several members of Tippu's family and a function of this kind in their vicinity was considered both cruel and improper and the installation therefore took place in Mysore.

Between Purniah and the British Residents of his time there existed considerable friendship. The town of Closepet, 30 miles distant from Bangalore, on the railway line to Mysore now bearing the name of that distinguished first Resident, was founded by Purniah in 1800. Webb's memory was perpetuated by Purniah in 1804 by the erection of a monument in the shape of a stone pillar which even now stands on an elevated spot to the north-west of the fort of Seringapatam at a distance of about 2 miles on the Seringapatam-French Rocks road and bears the inscription "Erected to the memory of Josiah Webb, Esquire, by Purniah, Dewan, as a tribute of veneration and respect for splendid talents, unsullied purity and eminent public virtue." Wilks wrote the first history of Mysore in English. Colonel Wellesley, whom Tennyson subsequently described as one who fought a hundred fights nor ever lost an English gun, remained in Mysore till 1805. A building in the Mysore City adjacent to west gate of the Government House where he stayed for about two years even now bears the name of Wellington Lodge. The Mysore troops co-operated with the British troops under the command of Colonel Arthur Wellesley in the Second Mahratta War and took part in the battles of Assaye and Argaum in 1803 and Colonel Wellesley refers in his despatches to the creditable part played by the Mysore troops in this war under the command of Bishtopunt.

Wellesley finally left India in March 1805. He was at the time presented with an address by the native inhabitants of Seringapatam conveying their gratitude to him for the tranquillity, security and happiness they enjoyed under his protection. In his letter to Purniah before his departure from India Wellesley expressed himself as parting from Purniah with the greatest regret and that he would ever continue to feel the most lively interest for the honour and prosperity of

the Government of the Raja of Mysore and that he was grateful to him for many acts of personal kindness. He concluded his letter in these words :—"I recommend to your constant favour and protection Bishtappa Pundit, Govinda Rao, Raghunatha Rao, Ranore and all the Sirdars and troops who served meritoriously with me in the last war, Seshaiah and the hircars belonging to you who accompanied me. They are all deserving of your favour. You know that for some years I have had under my protection Salabat Khan, the supposed or adopted son of Dhondoji Wagh. I have given him a sum of money and placed him under the guardianship of the court at Seringapatam and I request you to take him into the Raja's service hereafter, if you should find him worthy of your favour" Dhondoji Wagh was, I may say, a free-booter who escaped from his confinement on the day Seringapatam was assaulted by the English and gave considerable trouble afterwards in his marauding expeditions both to the British as well as the Mysore troops. At last he was overtaken by Wellesley in the Nizam's dominions and was slain in a battle that was fought. Salabat Khan who was only four years old was found at the time hiding among the baggages and taken to Arthur Wellesley who took care of him afterwards.

In June 1831, Major Clemons, a British military officer who was deputed to pacify the insurrectionists in the Shimoga District, at one time fell in at a village called Gouja with a picket of twelve men who on seeing him rushed into the jungle, where they joined the main body. Clemons, loath to shed blood, left his escort behind and proceeded unarmed to where the gathering was in order to convince them that his errand was a pacific one. On reaching the main body Clemons observed considerable symptoms of suspicion and distrust, which he succeeded in disarming by requesting a Pathan who stood there pointing his match-lock towards him with a match in one hand, to allow him to light his cigar, offering him one at the same time and the effect of this act of courtesy seemed immediately to alter their feelings from those of distrust to those of confidence in him as a friend. He was invited by

some of the people to seat himself on a mat which was spread for him and was treated with every respect.

Lord William Bentinck, the Governor-General who had deprived Krishnaraja Wodeyar III of his ruling powers in 1831, after a visit to the Raja in 1834 became troubled in mind as to the justice of what he had done. He found the Raja in the highest degree intelligent and sensible, and as he himself said, the Raja's disposition was the reverse of tyrannical or cruel and he recommended to the Court of Directors that, to begin with, a part of his territories should be restored to the Maharaja.

During the time of the Indian Mutiny when a small party of Europeans arrived at Mysore, the Raja, according to Cubbon's testimony, made manifest his satisfaction by giving them a feast and by also offering one of his palaces for their accommodation. Besides, the Raja gave up his personal establishment of elephants, etc., to assist the 74th Highlanders in their forced march from the Nilgiris to Bellary for the protection of the Ceded Districts,—a proceeding which produced great moral effect throughout the country. In fact there was nothing in the power of the Raja, wrote Cubbon, which he did not do to manifest his fidelity to the British Government and to discourage the unfriendly people.

Many public men in England having in later years become convinced of the injustice done to the Raja by not restoring his ruling powers, a deputation of Members of Parliament and other gentlemen who had long taken part in Indian affairs, led by Sir Henry Rawlinson, waited on the Secretary of State in July 1866 for the purpose of making a collective remonstrance against the threatened annexation of Mysore. Later a petition signed, among others, by several old Indian Officers, was presented to the House of Commons by John Stuart Mill, the famous philosopher and political thinker, urging the re-establishment of the native Government in Mysore. To the credit of the House of Commons, on a debate being held in that House, the restoration of the country to Native rule was approved by a majority. The Mysore cause at this time also

received the strong support of John Morley, who subsequently became Secretary of State for India.

I am sure you will all agree with me when I say that Mr. Reilly has given proofs of belonging to the class of large-hearted Englishmen whom I have mentioned. The mutual relations between the Mysoreans and the English people have at all times been cordial, even when under desperate circumstances and the welcome we must offer to Mr. Reilly must be animated by the same feeling.

I now request you, Sir, to accept the welcome we offer you in the same spirit as actuated the bygone generation of Englishmen who came to the Mysore country.

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Mr. S. Srikantaya, General Secretary and Treasurer, then presented the following Report for the year 1934-35 :

ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1934-35

The Committee of the Mythic Society have great pleasure in placing before you this evening a Report of the Society's activities during the year 1934-35.

Membership.—Membership of the Society continues steady. Members in arrears are requested to pay them early. We hope that in the current year every member of the Society will make an earnest attempt to increase the membership of the Society by introducing new members. As announced in our Report for the last year, the first number of each volume will be sent by V.P.P. to our moffussil members from the next year.

We deeply regret to record the death of the following : Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao, C.I.E., Retired Dewan of Mysore, Travancore and Baroda who was one of the foundation members of the Society ; and Dr. M. Srinivasa Rao, M.A., M.D., who was a valuable contributor to the pages of the Society's Journal.

Meetings.—Several meetings were held during the year at which interesting lectures were delivered. "The Mythology of Indian Music" was the subject of an interesting lecture delivered by Mr. O. C. Gangoly of Calcutta.

Silver Jubilee.—The Society completed its twenty-five years of life and activity in May 1934 and the Silver Jubilee was celebrated in an appropriate manner in November last. The Jubilee Week was inaugurated by Amin-ul-Mulk Sir Mirza M. Ismail, the Dewan of Mysore and a Vice-President of the Society. Illustrated Lectures on subjects of antiquarian interest, particularly relating to Mysore, were delivered by eminent scholars. On the last day, our President, Rajakarya-prasakta Rao Bahadur Mr. M. Shama Rao, gave an At Home which was largely attended by the elite and the intelligentsia of the place.

Finance.—The total receipts for the year including an opening balance of Rs. 29-10-3 was Rs. 4,144-7-1. The total expenditure was Rs. 4,025-1-9 leaving a closing balance of Rs. 119-5-4. Our Reserve Fund continues to stand at Rs. 11,750. The bills outstanding at the end of the year amount to Rs. 619-10-0. It is a matter of considerable regret that owing to unavoidable causes, no appreciable amount was realised by way of subscription either from the moffussil or the resident members. We expect the members will kindly bear with us and honour our requests to pay on successive occasions.

Our financial troubles started with the cut in our grants and it has become very difficult, if not impossible, to manage the day-to-day affairs of the Society without a restoration of the grants and a larger and more liberal outlook on the part of the members in the concerns of the Society. We pray that the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore will kindly restore our grants and augment them at no distant date.

We are grateful to Mr. T. M. S. Subramaniam, Accountant, the Bank of Mysore, who very kindly continues to audit our accounts in an honorary capacity.

Reading Room.—The total number of visitors to the Free Reading Room attached to the Library during the year was 2,803. As usual, daily and weekly papers are placed on the table while other periodicals are made easily available to visitors.

Library.—It was not at all possible to add many books to the Library by purchase. A number of books were received during the year by presentation and the important periodicals were got bound as usual. We appeal to all those interested in this institution to present the Library with books and periodicals dealing with all branches of antiquarian study. Our thanks are due to the Government of India, the several provincial administrations in India and Burma, the States of Mysore, Hyderabad, Baroda, Kashmir, Travancore, Cochin, Pudukkottai and Gwalior, the Universities of Mysore, Madras, Calcutta and Dacca and the Annamalai University and various other authors and publishers for sending us their publications for accession to the Library and for review in the Journal.

Journal.—*The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* continues to maintain the high standard set for it by its promoters. The Silver Jubilee Number, so designed to be worthy of the occasion, has been very much appreciated by all our readers.

Exchanges.—Amongst our exchanges are included most of the learned periodicals of the world. All important journals are carefully bound and preserved in the Library.

Daly Memorial Hall.—The Daly Memorial Hall and premises are maintained in good condition. The Hall continues to be in constant demand for meetings of other institutions in Bangalore.

General.—We offer our sincere congratulations to the following gentlemen who have been the recipients of well-merited honours during the year: Rajasabhabhushana Diwan Bahadur Mr. K. R. Srinivasiengar and Rao Bahadur Mr. B. K. Garudachar.

We beg to express our deep gratitude to His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, His Highness the Yuvaraja, the Government of His Highness the Maharaja, the Government of India and the Hon'ble the British Resident in Mysore for their continued sympathy and support.

On being proposed by the President and seconded by Mr. Justice K. Shankaranarayana Rao, the Report was duly adopted.

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The following office-bearers for the year 1935-36 were then elected :

President :

Rajakaryaprasakta Rao Bahadur M. Shama Rao,
Esq., M.A.

Vice-Presidents :

1. Amin-ul-Mulk Sir Mirza M. Ismail, Kt., C.I.E., O.B.E.
2. Rajadharma pravina Diwan Bahadur K. S. Chandrasekhara Aiyar, Esq., B.A., B.L.
3. Rajamantrapravina Diwan Bahadur P. Ragha-vendra Rao, Esq., B.A., B.L.
4. Rajasabhabhushana Diwan Bahadur K. R. Srinivasiengar, Esq., M.A.
5. Rajasabhabhushana K. Chandy, Esq., B.A.
6. Rajamantrapravina Diwan Bahadur K. Matthan, Esq., B.A.
7. Praktana Vimarsha Vichakshana Karnataka Prachya Vidya Vaibhava Mahamahopadhyaya Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar, Esq., M.A.
8. Dr. E. P. Metcalfe, D.Sc., F.Inst.P.
9. Mr. H. D. C. Reilly.
10. Arthasastravisharada Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. R. Shama Sastri, B.A., Ph.D.

General Secretary and Treasurer :

S. Srikanthaya, Esq., B.A., B.L.

Joint Secretary :

A. V. Ramanathan, Esq., B.A.

Editors :

1. S. Srikanthaya, Esq., B.A., B.L.
2. K. Devanathachariar, Esq., M.A.

Branch Secretaries :

For Ethnology—Rajacharitavisarada Rao Sahib
C. Hayavadana Rao, Esq., B.A., B.L.

For History—Rev. Father C. Browne, M.A.

For Folklore—B. Puttaiya, Esq., B.A.

Committee :

The above *ex-officio* and

1. N. S. Subba Rao, Esq., M.A., Bar-at-Law.
2. A. R. Wadia, Esq., B.A., Bar-at-Law.
3. Dr. M. H. Krishna, M.A., D.Litt.
4. S. Shamanna, Esq., B.A.
5. Dr. C. B. Rama Rao, M.D.
6. J. R. Isaac, Esq., B.A., M.B.E.
7. Prof. B. M. Srikantia, M.A., B.L.

* * *

The Chairman of the Meeting, Chief Justice H. D. C. Reilly, then delivered the following address:—

CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS

He referred to the recent illness of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore and said that the members of the Mythic Society in common with the rest of His Highness' subjects in Mysore and abroad rejoiced to learn that their Patron had been restored to normal health.

Referring to the address of welcome of the President, Mr. Reilly said that Mysoreans were always kind to Englishmen, and they were exceptionally kind to him also. Although it might not be known to the Society and although he was one of the youngest of its officers, he was one of its oldest members. When the Society was founded about 1909, Mr. Richards invited him to become a member, which he did, and though he had no opportunity to take an active part in its work, he had always watched the progress of the Society with great interest.

The Society was twenty-six years old; but the Secretary's report showed that financially its position gave rise to serious reflections. While they appealed to the Government to restore their grant, the members should realize that they could not expect everything from the Government but must bestir themselves to augment the resources of the Society. They must pay up their arrears, and make efforts to introduce new members, secure donations and life-members and

contribute towards the stability of the Society as the Secretary had appealed to them to do.

He admired the active work done by the Society both for the good of Mysore and of India, and it was most important that it should continue to do that work. The Society had set before itself the study of archæology, ethnology, history and religion. But he had often wondered why the Society was called the Mythic Society. His lexicon showed him that the word 'mythic' denoted a poetic or legendary tale in contrast to a historical tale. He did not for a moment suggest that historical works necessarily ignored legends. Indeed the most serious study of history was often rewarded by the discovery that a well-known legend had real foundation in fact.

The first subject set out in the objects of study for the Society was archæology. Archæology had certain advantages over history for such a Society. If the Society was in a good financial condition, it could make contribution to the cost of archæological work. In other respects also archæology had advantages over history. When reading history they had constantly to remind themselves that they were dealing not with facts but with the historian's representation of facts. Indeed, it was a comparatively modern idea for historians to attempt to write history in a scientific way and report only ascertained facts. A great deal of history had been written to glorify some people or sovereign or justify some policy. Even in the present day it was extremely difficult for an historian to divest himself of personal prejudices or predilections. Indeed it was impossible for any human being to do so completely. But, when they turned to archæology, they found the position was different. The stones and crocks of archæology had no human tongue to enlighten or deceive them. The truth was in them for men to discover. They pleaded no cause and coloured no picture, though it must be confessed that the archæologist sometimes allowed his imagination to run away with him.

When he first came to India in the last century, comparatively little interest appeared to be taken in the archæology

or ancient history of the country. He was surprised, when going about in various parts of Southern India, to find how little was known even by educated people about their most famous temples and buildings. One might ask the trustees when a temple was founded, who endowed it, who improved it and so on. The trustees often had the very vaguest notions on such subjects ; sometimes they knew nothing at all. What was worse, they often did not care to preserve the ancient structures entrusted to them. Very often they would allow a charming mantapam to be pulled down, only to be replaced by what was supposed to be a more convenient and modern structure. Many inscriptions of historical importance were destroyed in that and other ways. It was fortunate that the restraining hand of Government interfered and preserved what now remains for the lasting benefit of posterity. He did not suppose anything of that sort happened in Mysore. Archaeology had received far more attention in Mysore than in many other parts of India. At the present time a great change was noticeable in regard to archaeology, not only in India but all over the world. Archaeology played a much greater part than it used to a generation ago. There were wonderful excavations being made in many parts of the world—the Indus Valley, Mesopotamia, Persia, Crete and Central America—and many wonderful things were learnt from those excavations. As a result of the facts learnt from archaeological research, the idea that the oldest civilizations had developed in Egypt and China had been disproved. They had learnt that civilization went back in many parts of the world to hundreds and thousands of years more than they had thought. Indeed archaeologists sometimes spoke of years in almost astronomical numbers. And when they looked back into the history of the world, as so disclosed, they often found that there was much more in common among people inhabiting different parts of the globe than they had imagined. As Rao Bahadur Narasimhachar had shown when he addressed the Society at its last annual meeting, Hindu civilization and culture had spread over a very much larger area in the world.

than had been believed. There were needless lessons to be learnt from archaeology. Learning of that sort, like all true learning, made them humble. It made them understand that the present day, of which they thought so much, was not so important as they made it out to be. And they learnt to realise how much all the races of mankind had in common. Such learning showed them that they, with all their self-importance, occupied only a small place in the world's history, that their predecessors had met and tackled many of the problems which they thought were peculiar to modern civilization, and about which they made so much fuss. For instance, if they went back only to Ancient Greece, they found that the frequent wars between the city-states had often been occasioned by what sounded very modern problems, namely the desire for the acquisition and retention of trade routes or the necessity for arranging some sort of 'Ottawa Pact'. If they came a little further along the road of history, in ancient Rome they found that, on more than one occasion, it had been necessary to introduce an agriculturists' relief regulation—a thorny matter even in those days. Such instances should make them realise not only that their own problems were not new but also that they were not insoluble. What was even more important was the fact that a study of archaeology made them realise that the history of mankind was one and not little patches of human stories. The races of mankind had much in common. The more that was realised, the wider would be their outlook and their sympathies and the better would they work for the peace and happiness of the world.

But he did not mean to suggest that these studies should lead them to a flabby internationalism. No doubt, if they developed common sympathies, they would wear off rough covers and points of friction between different races. But it would be an evil day if that resulted in obliterating their national characteristics. It was their duty to preserve their national characteristics, not as a cause of self-importance but as the gifts of God entrusted to them for the service of humanity.

If he were an Indian he would be proud indeed of India, of all that was great in her history, of her ancient civilization, her art, her architecture and her law. He could think of few better things which an Indian could do than to clear away the mists from the history of his own land, so that the sons and daughters of India might learn and appreciate fully the history and characteristics of the land to which their devotion was due. That was the sort of work which this Society had done in the past and could go on doing. India is a very large place, including many lands and peoples. That need not deter them. Devotion to India need never be in conflict with devotion and loyalty to one's own part of it. No man need be less an Indian because he was a Mysorean. Devotion to India as a whole would bear better fruit when it was rooted in devotion to one's own land.

If he were a Mysorean, he would be very proud of this beautiful land, of her history, of her development, of her progress and her monuments, and he was indeed proud to serve Mysore. But, in Mysore as elsewhere, pride in the country would grow best when it was watered with true knowledge of the history of the land, and there again was the work which this Society had done and could go on doing. He knew this Society did not confine its activities to Mysore, though its heart was in Mysore.

It was not known what part Mysore would take in the coming developments in India. But one could rejoice in the fact there had been no attempt to flatten out the whole of India into one drab unit. The individuality of every great state and every province would be preserved. And it would be by preserving that individuality that each part would be able to contribute best to the good of the whole.

Mysore would always be Mysore. Mysoreans would never falter in loyalty to their ruler or pride in their land. But they would have their part to play for the whole of India. Mysore had shown the way to India on many an occasion, and she would go on doing so. He was sure that Mysoreans would be best fitted to play their part in the wider field, if

they were not only proud of their own land, but really knew its history, if they understood its past glories and its future possibilities. In all that the Mythic Society would help them. Their present was rooted in the past, and it was from the past and the present that the future had to grow. If Mysore citizens and statesmen were to do their best for Mysore and India, they must know Mysore and Mysore's history through and through and then turn to the wider field. The Mythic Society had reached a rather critical time because Mysoreans were not supporting it as they should. He would suggest to them that was a great mistake. They must get Mysoreans to take a greater interest in the Society in order that it might carry on what was very important work both for Mysore and India. If they could get more supporters and more workers, he had no doubt that the Mythic Society would go on for generations doing work which was of real good both to Mysore and to India.

* * *

The Meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to the distinguished guest of the evening and three cheers to His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore.

NOTES

Beliefs about the Power of the Mustard-Seed to Ward off Evil

MR. L. A. WADDELL in his book on Lamaism¹ illustrates the "Dance of Skeletons" current in Tibet by a picture and detailed description of the same. He further remarks :—

" This usually concludes one day's performance. On the following day adoration is paid to the Jina by whom unreformed Lamas seem to intend St. Padma-Sambhava. A *mustard-seed* is blessed and thrown at the enemy with singing, dancing and incantations. And then occurs the ceremony of stabbing the enemy by the phurbu or the mystic dagger."

The power of the *mustard-seed* believed in by the Buddhists of Tibet appears to have its parallels in Hindu and Dravidian beliefs also. It is difficult to say anything about the antiquity of these beliefs or their mutual contact, as a systematic history of such beliefs yet remains to be written on the basis of field-work by interested anthropologists.

Sarat Chandra Roy, the great Indian anthropologist, records² the use of *mustard-seeds* current among the Oraons of Chota Nagpur, whose language belongs to the Dravidian family and who are geographically settled among the speakers of the Munda (Austro-Asiatic family) group of languages. The Oraons use the *mustard-seed* as a precaution against evil spirits. Mr. Roy remarks about this use as under :—

" It is during the period of impurity following childbirth that evil spirits are most dreaded by a woman, etc..... A handful of *mustard-seeds* is also tied up at one end of the woman's cloth, so that evil spirits may not approach her in the apprehension that the *mustard-seeds* will be flung at them should they venture to do so. It is believed that an evil spirit

¹ *Buddhism of Tibet* (or *Lamaism*.) Second Edition, 1934; Heffer & Sons, Cambridge; p. 529.

² *Oraon Religion and Customs*, Ranchi, 1928, pp. 124-25.

must pick up every grain of *mustard-seed*, an almost interminable task before it can proceed to other business."

I am not aware of the use of the *mustard-seed* in the above manner in other parts of India. In Maharashtra, however, the Hindu ladies use *salt* and *mustard-seeds* for purposes of warding off evil on numerous occasions. When a young lady with a baby enters her husband's house for the first time from her father's house, salt and *mustard-seeds* are whirled round the faces of the baby and the mother and then thrown away. This is done with the idea of protecting the mother and especially the baby from the effects of evil eyes. There are many other occasions on which this formula is repeated.

I have illustrated the use of the *mustard-seeds* by three different customs: (1) the Tibetan, (2) the Dravidian, and (3) the Hindu—all backed up by certain beliefs in the potency of the *mustard-seed* to ward off evil. Such beliefs are the very life-blood of different cultures in spite of modern attempts to rationalize them to suit the modern outlook on life and its mysteries.

P. K. GODE.

Three More Sanskrit Poetesses

BY V. RAGHAVAN, M.A., PH.D.

THIS note is a supplement to my article on Sanskrit and Prākṛt Poetesses,¹ published in the last number of this Journal and notices three more Sanskrit Poetesses,—*Lakṣmī*, *Sarāsvatī* and *Rajakasarasvatī*.

¹ *Q.J.M.S.*, Silver Jubilee Number, pp. 49-74. In the footnote on p. 50 of that article, a serious error has been made in the statement that there was a Kāśakṛtsnī who wrote a Mimamsa treatise. I should have said: There were Brahmin ladies who studied the Mimamsa treatise of Kāśakṛtsnī.

On pp. 68-69 of that article, I have erroneously described Rāmabhadrāmbā as the queen of King Raghunatha. She was only his mistress. Her poem has since been published by Dr. T. R. Chintamani for the Madras University. (*Bulletin of the Skt. Dept.*, No. 2.)

Laksmī.—This poetess is known to us from the *Sāringadhara Paddhati* itself. A single verse of hers, an Anyāpadeśa on the bee, is given by Śāringadhara under No. 817 :

प्रमन्वनान्ते नवमज्जरीषु न षट्पदो गन्धफलीमिजिघ्रत् ।

सा किं न रम्या स च किं न रन्ता बलीयसी केवलमीश्वेरच्छा ॥

Aufreicht mentions in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* two poetesses named Sarasvatī and Rajakasarasvatī as known from the *Saduktikarnāmṛta* of Śridharadāsa, an anthology compiled in Śaka 1127 (A.D. 1205), now made completely available to us by an edition of it in the Punjab Oriental Series (No. XV).² The *Saduktikarnāmṛta* has preserved two verses of these two poetesses.

Rajakasarasvatī.—The Sragdharā verse given by Śridharadāsa over the name of Rajakasarasvatī is a description of the intense love of the male Cakravāka bird for the female bird and of how, in its fear of separation from the latter, the former mistakes even the day for the night.

भृक्त्वा भीतो न भुड्क्ते कुटिलबिसलताकोटिमिन्दोवितर्कात्

ताराकारास्तृष्टो न पिबति पयसां विप्रुषः पत्रसंस्थाः ।

छायामम्भोरहाणामलिकुलशबलां वेत्ति सन्ध्यामसन्ध्यां

कान्ताविच्छेदभीरुदिनमपि रजनी मन्यते चकवाकः ॥

Sarasvatī.—The one verse of this poetess found on p. 249 (IV. 32. 3) is an Anyāpadeśa in *Vasantatilaka* on the bee and the Ketaka flower. The Ketaka symbolises persons full of faults and have but a single merit and the bee symbolises the good man who is anxious to overlook all the defects and satisfy himself with the single virtue.

पत्राणि कण्ठकसहस्रदुसदानि

वार्तापि नात्ति मधुनो रजसान्धकारम् ।

आगोदमात्ररसिकेन मधुव्रतेन

नालोकितानि तव केतक दूषणानि ॥

² A small part of it was already available in the *Bib. Ind. Series*.

Some Interesting Gems of Christian Literature
of Portuguese Times

DURING the Holy Year Pilgrimage to Palestine, Rome and Laurdes in September–October 1933, Rev. Father Lear Saldanha, Parish Priest of Bajpe, S. Kanara, happened to steal a visit to London and came across some very interesting and important gems of Christian literature in Kanarese, Marathi and Konkani languages in the Library of the Marsden Collection (1838) found in the School of Oriental Studies—London Institution.

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

I

Dravidian Kanarese Manuscripts

- No. 34. ಸತ್ಯಾಪದೇಶ—(Satya Upadesha)—folio—A work in Kanarese language and *character* on religious subjects by a Catholic Missionary—Calendar on cover inside.

SERMONS and INSTRUCTIONS

Contents

1. ಪ್ರಸಂಗಗಳು (Prasangagalu)—6 Parts on Catechism.
2. ದಿವ್ಯ ಮುತ್ತಗಳು (Divya Muttugalu)—Sacred Pearls (104) on Catholic practice—morals—virtues.
3. ಜೇಸನಾಥರ ತಿರುವಾಡುಗಳ ಚರಿತ್ರೆ (Jesanathara Tirupadugala Charitre)—Passion of our Lord.
4. *Devotion to the Sacred Passion* from Thursday evening till Friday afternoon.
5. ದೇವಮಾತೆಯ ಚರಿತ್ರೆ (Devamatheya Charitre)—Life of the Mother of God.
6. ಅಚರಣ್ಯರ ಜಾಜಗಾಪತ ಪತ ಚಾಲನಾಂಗಿ

(a) ಅರ್ಚ ಸ್ತಾನಿಸಿಲಾವುಸರ ಚರಿತ್ರೆ	—Lives of Saints
(b) „ ಸಂತಪ್ತರ „	—St. Stanislaus.
(c) „ ಜುಲ್ಯಾನಮ್ಮರ „	—St. Clement.
(d) „ ಲೆಟಿಸಿಯಮ್ಮರ „	—St. Juliano.
(e) „ ಸೆಸಿಲಿಯಮ್ಮರ „	—St. Loetitia.
(f) „ ಅಗ್ನಿಸಮ್ಮರ „	—St. Cecilia.
(g) „ ದೇವದಾರಾಯಮ್ಮರ „	—St. Agnes.
	—St. Theodora.

II

Kanarese Manuscripts in Kanarese Language

- No. 37. Dialogue between a Guru or Religious Teacher and his Disciple—A Book in Kanarese language and character containing Instructions for the knowledge of the Universal Lord; Prayers (ಮಂತ್ರ) adopted on several occasions; Invocations (ಪ್ರಾರ್ಥನೆ); a kind of Litany and a Catechism or Dialogue in question and answer between a Tutor and his Pupil on points of Faith and Doctrine (composed by Jesuits of the Kanarese Mission from Goa). Explanation of an ordinary Catechism appears to be the translation in Kanarese characters of No. 30 in Mahratta language and Nagri character, but in Kanarese character instead of Roman or Devanagari—probably for the use of catechists of Kanarese Mission Mahratta manuscript is in the very same handwriting as the manuscripts of Adi Puran.

Other Manuscripts in Marathi and Konkani in the Marsden Collection

- No. 28. Adi Puran—Old Testament—Nagri character.
29. Deva Puran—New Testament—Nagri character. By different expert Indian copyists. Both in Marathi.
30. Instructions for the knowledge of the Universal Lord—dialogue between Guru and Disciple—explaining the Catechism—Nagri character—Marathi language.
31. Jivitva Rutachin Amrut Fala (*sic* in Roman character) translation of “Fruitos de Arvore da Vida” by Father Antonio Saldanha, S.J., in the Hindustani language and Roman character.
34. Satya Upa Desha (as stated above) probably a translation of Jardim Dos, Pastores of Fr. Miguel Almeida, S.J., also found in Marsden Collection.
- (37. Translation of the above No. 30 in Kanarese character and language *cf.* overleaf.)

38. Vocabulario da lingsa Canarim de Norte concertade e acrecentade in 1664—Portuguese-Marathi Vocabulary probably by Fr. Ant. Saldanha, S.J.
39. Vocabulario in Kanarim vertido est Portuguesa, probably by Fr. Leo Cennamon, S.J.
40. Grammatica da Bramani que corre na Illa de Goa e sua Comarea—Konkani Grammer in Portuguese.
41. Arte de lingoa Canarim—Konkani (old) Grammer in Roman characters small, 4.
42. Arte da lingoa Canarim—Doctrina Christani im lingoa Bramana Canarim 4—old Konkani Grammer, probably by Fr. Thos. Stephens, S.J. (in Roman characters).

The Kanarese pieces of literature cannot be traced to Kanara, and must be sought for location in some other part of Karnataka. If I guess rightly, this unique Kanarese religious literature was the production of Jesuit Fathers who worked as missionaries in the Karnataka village of Mudgal and other villages close by in the 17th and 18th centuries, which Christian settlement is referred to in Oal, Meadow Zu Glarb novel *The Noble Queen* and in his *Story of My Life*. There were two other congregations mentioned by him in the Doale. I leave it to local Kanarese missionaries to make the required research.

The Marathi and Konkani productions referred to have been the subject of discussion by learned authors and copies of them are yet available. I may just now refer to the learned introduction to the late Saldanha-edition of the *Christian Purana* and to the following articles on the *Bulletin* of the School of Oriental Studies :

Sir E. Denison Ross' article on the Manuscripts collection by William Marsden—in Vol. II, Part III.

Mr. Justice Abbotts' article on "The Discovery of the original Devanagari text of the Christian Puran of Thomas Stevens"—in Vol. II, Part IV, 1923.

CORRESPONDENCE

"The Genealogy and Chronology of the Vishnukundins"

IN the last issue of this Journal (April, 1935, p. 299 ff.) Mr. Dines Chandra Sircar has drawn my attention to the fact that I have not noticed his contributions on the subject, and therefore that I have been "not at all up-to-date". For one thing, my article on the "Vishnukundins" had been several months with the Editors of the Journal, previous to its actual publication ; and I could not, even if I would, have made use of his study of the subject in the *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta. Mr. Sircar says, he has already considered what, in my view, is the genealogy and given it up. One would wish to know if Mr. Sircar has based his *conclusions* on any new and original materials, in addition to what may have been used by me and by others of my way of thinking. I hope to be able to go through the publications referred to. Meantime, just by way of an answer to the few points raised in his Correspondence, I desire to state :

The one point on which Mr. Sircar relies for his genealogy of the Dynasty is that "in all the five inscriptions of the family one king, named Mādhava Varman, has been credited with the celebration of eleven Aśvamedhas and thousand Agnishtomas (kratus)." He has "therefore reconstructed the genealogy" (300). Can the identity of the "Mādhava Varmans" be taken as established on this score of what may be only a poet's description ? There are other instances of hyperbole in the epigraphs where another king "celebrates thousands of sacrifices, a Sarvamedha, a hundred thousand Bahusuvarnas, Paundarika, Purushamedha, Vājapeya, Yūddhya, Rājasūya, Prādhirajya, Prājāpatya and others ; and still another is described as having "encountered in a hundred thousand

battles numerous elephants with four tusks". Besides, there are a few other points which seem not to lend support to Mr. Sircar's supposition, that may be gathered, for instance, from my "A Chronicle of the Kings" section, among others.

As I have already stated, the dates of the Vishṇukuṇḍins can only be tentative in the light of the chronological data furnished by their grants. The duration of the Dynasty is placed by me from c. 400–500 A.D., while Mr. Sircar would have it from 500–670. According to me, the first three kings ruled from 400–500. Mr. Sircar says, this is "impossible in view of the fact that at least up to the middle of the fifth century, not the Vishṇukuṇḍins, but the Śālaṅkāyanas were masters of the Āndhra country. But were the Śālaṅkāyanas the masters of the entire Āndhra country? Students of Dekhan history know that on the decline of the Imperial Śātavāhana power, about 250 A.D., its place was taken by small dynasties that were styled in the Purāṇas as "Āndhabhrityas"; and the Brihatpalāyanas followed immediately by Śālaṅkāyanas, may have been one among them. It is rather well known now, even without a fresh citation of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription, etc., that the Śālaṅkāyanas should have been in possession of the "Vengi" country up to the fifth century. But the intimate association of the Vishṇukuṇḍins with Śri-Parvata or Nāgārjuni-konda would point to their having succeeded to the territory ruled over by the Ikshvākus, another of these early Dekhan Dynasties, an inscription of one of whose kings (?) is met with in the locality; and they should have come in possession of the territory of the Śālaṅkāyanas after the fifth century, in the course of their *eastern campaigns*.

Even in the light of the above, Mr. Sircar's conclusions do not seem to me acceptable, however much he may be up-to-date in respect of the genealogy and chronology of this little-known Dekhan Dynasty. For ready reference of scholars interested in the subject I would subjoin the genealogy of the Dynasty as given by me and by Mr. Sircar.

<i>Mine</i>		<i>Mr. Sircar's</i>	
Mādhava Varman	c. 400-425	Vikramahendra	c. 500-520
Deva Varman	425-450	Govinda	520-535
Mādhava Varman	450-500	Mādhava	535-585
Vikramendra	500-520	Mādhava	585-615
Indra	520-550	Vikramendra	615-625
Vikramendra	550-590	Indra	625-655
Govinda	590-610	Vikramendra	655-670
Mādhava and son			
Manachyanna	610-650		

It may be noticed that what is given by Mr. Sircar on p. 300, does not agree with that on the next page, which, according to him, is the genealogy accepted in his works.

S. V. VISWANATHA.

IN the *Q.J.M.S.*, Volume 25, page 261, Mr. S. V. Viswanatha, M.A., has written an article with the heading "Karuvūr or Vañjimānagaram". It is an interesting one which reopens the long-pending controversy about the identity of the capital of Chera Kingdom. The learned author supports the view expressed by Pandit M. Raghava Iyengar in his book *Cheran Šenputtuvan* and in his articles which he contributed to the journal *Senthamil*. He now wishes to support it by an additional evidence from the epigraphical records discovered at Nerūr mentioned in No. 335/28 of the Madras Epigraphical Collections. The article, though very interesting, contains a number of inaccuracies which I think it is my duty to point out in the public interests.

1. The learned author, in dealing with the area of a kingdom in Tamil country, gives Kādam as a unit of square measure and says that Chera Kingdom was believed to be 80 Kādams in extent and in the foot-note says that the entire area of Tamil Agam was 180 Kādams. Kādam in Tamil language is a linear measure and is 10 miles in length. In Malabar a Kādam is 4 miles in length. It is not a square measure. Perhaps he had in his mind the stanza quoted below which gives only the linear measure.

2. The author wants to express that modern Karūr, a town in Trichinopoly district, was the ancient capital of Chera Nādu.

For that purpose he gives the boundaries of Chera Nādu as follows : "Bounded on the north by the Palni Hill, on the east by Sengotta (Shengotta in the Travancore State), on the west by Kallikottai (Calicut in the Malabar District) and on the south by the Sea." After giving this boundary, he further says : "It included therefore Malabar, Cochin and Travancore on the west coast and extended into the interior to comprise the adjoining districts of Coimbatore and Salem and a portion of Trichinopoly." Evidently the boundaries given by the author have been taken by him from an old Tamil stanza attributed either to Kambar or Avvaiyar. It runs as follows :—

வடக்குத் தலம் பழனி வான்சீழ் செங்கோடு
குடக்குத் திசை கோழிக் கூடாம் கடற்கரையின்
ஒரமது தெற்காகும் ஓரெண் பதின்காதம்
சேராட் டெல்லை யெனச் செப்பு.

If we take a map of South India and locate the boundaries Palni, Shengotta, Calicut and the Sea, it will be clear that the area includes only Travancore, Cochin and South Malabar, while the districts of Coimbatore, Salem and Trichy are outside its pale. Hence on no ground can Karūr of Trichy be located inside the Chera Kingdom.

3. In all ancient Tamil Classics Kongu Nādu and its people Kongar have been described as separate units apart from Chera Nādu and her rulers, Cherars. The districts of Coimbatore, Salem and a portion of Trichinopoly really formed Kongu Nādu and were never included into the Chera Kingdom during the classical age, except at a far later period when the Keralas invaded portions of Kongu during 8th and 9th centuries A.D. The arguments in support of the view that the modern Karūr was the capital of Chera Kingdom have been based mainly on some modern poetry such as *Karūr Purāṇam* and others. Though a few stanzas from ancient poems like Agam and Puram have also been quoted, yet there is no conclusive proof in them that the modern Karūr was the ancient

Chera capital. There is no presumption or proof that the Ān Porunai on the banks of which Karūr is said to have been situated in Agam 93 is the same as the Amarāvathi, a tributary of the Kāveri. How the word Ān Porunai became Amarāvathi is not known. Here also there is an inaccuracy. The word Amarāvathi ought to have been Āmbrāvathi as spelt in the Sthala Puranams and as spoken in local usage.

4. In describing the invasion of North India undertaken by Cheran Śenguttuvan as mentioned in *Silappadikāram*, the learned author says that the Chera encamped on the banks of the river Periyār and adds that "The river Periyār rising from the Anaimalais in the Coimbatore district courses through a portion of Coimbatore and Malabar and the Cochin State and empties itself into the sea at Tiruvañjikkālam near Cranganoor." A little knowledge of the geography of the locality and a glance at the map of South India will show that the river Periyār or the Alwaye (as it is called in its lower courses) does not rise from the Anaimalais in the Coimbatore district, but rises near Kambam valley at the border of Madura district, nearly 60 miles south of Coimbatore district boundary. One ought not to forget the existence and the locality of the famous Periyār Dam, which supplies ever-lasting water to the river Vaigai which flows by Madura. The Periyār never courses through Coimbatore and Malabar. It flows mostly through Travancore State and branches into two streams at the town of Alwaye, one going south and the other north to join the backwaters, the former near Cochin and the latter near Tiruvañjikkālam.

5. Again the learned author says: "On these grounds Nachchinārkkiniyar, the commentator of the epic (*Silappadikāram*) annotating the relevant lines identified Vañji with Tiruvañjikkālam." Here also there is an inaccuracy. Nachchinārkkiniyar was not the commentator of *Silappadikāram*. It was Adiyarkku Nallar who wrote the commentary of the famous epic. None of them says anywhere that Vañji was Tiruvañjikkālam. The latter name is not found in the ancient classics. Only in the commentary of *Puranānūru* its

commentator whose name is not known, has meant by Vañji : Karuvūr (Puram 39). Hence our learned author seems to be confused over the commentators.

6. In attempting to support the theory that modern Karūr was Vañji, the author quotes an inscription No. 335/28 which mentions Karuvūr *alias* Vañjimānagaram as situated in Vengala Nādu, a sub-division of Vira Chola Vala Nādu. Evidently, this inscription is of very late origin belonging to the latter Chola period. Hence it is of little value. Again, the mention of a mere word Ātan in the Brahmi inscription near Pugalūr can be of little evidenciary value to the theory about Karūr, started on mere suggestions to identify the name with the Cherans who had similar suffixes to their names. But whatever these evidenciary values may be, the learned author could have avoided the glaring inaccuracies in his otherwise interesting article.

Coimbatore.

C. M. RAMACHANDRA CHETTIAR.

EDITORIAL

Indian Culture, which has just started on its second year of existence, amply justifies the cause for which it has been sponsored by such eminent scholars like Messrs. D. R. Bhandarkar, B. M. Barua and B. C. Law. The July 1935 issue contains amongst others a very interesting article by Mr. Panchanan Mitra on the Prehistoric Trade Routes and Commerce. The writer who relies for his study on the distribution of objects not made out of local materials traces the source of origin of the material to find out the route of its distribution through survey of the sites excavated in the intermediate zones. He also conjectures that trade routes and migration routes would often coincide.

* * *

In an interesting article on the Chola Invasion of Bengal in the *J. R.A. S.* for October 1935, Mr. A. C. Banerji locates ancient Radha in the modern districts of Murshidabad, Birbhum, Nadia, Burdwan, Hugly and Howrah. Prof. S. K. Aiyangar, in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. II, on the other hand, locates Northern Radha in the Burdwan District and says that Dakshina Radha must lie to its south. Mr. Banerji further differs from the views of the late Mr. R. D. Banerji and Prof. S. K. Aiyangar that the victorious march of the Chola army ended on the banks of the Ganges and suggests that they must have crossed the river to reach Eastern Bengal.

* * *

In the same *Journal* for July 1935, Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri discussing the date of Bhuti Vikramakesari reiterates his original view as well as that of Venkayya that Bhuti must be placed in the tenth century A.D. as against Father Heras' contention of a date three centuries earlier (*J.R.A.S.*, January 1934, p. 33 ff.). Father Heras quotes Krishna Sastri in support of his theory ; but a reference to the South Indian Inscriptions (Vol. III, p. 249) would show that Krishna Sastri meant about twenty to thirty years when he said that the Kodumbatur

Inscription was much earlier and not three centuries as Father Heras would make it.

* *

The *Aryan Path* for September 1935 contains two articles, one by Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji and the other by Mr. S. V. Viswanatha on Ancient India. The first gives a bird's-eye view of the accomplishment of the early Hindus while the second shows how they grappled with the problems of the relation between capital and labour.

* *

Mr. Drupad S. Desai attempts with considerable success (*Prabuddha Bharata*, September 1935) to answer some of the stock objections against Śankaracharya's Advaitism : viz., (1) that Sankara is not a philosopher at all but merely a theologian; (2) experience is not explained at all in his systems—nay, even more, that his system leaves no scope for experience at all; (3) that the doctrine of Maya acts as a set-back to the scientific activity of man ; and (4) that Absolutism of Śankara's type negates all moral categories.

* *

Man in India for April—September 1935 contains two very interesting articles based on original research. The first of these relates to the system of fraternal polyandry in Malabar and the second is a study of the manners and customs of the Bhils of Khandesh.

* *

Dr. Wilh. Geiger contributes a learned article to the *Journal of the Greater India Society* pertaining to the contributions from the Mahavamsa to our Knowledge of the Mediæval Culture of Ceylon. Although the priestly compilers of the work showed a bias to things ecclesiastical, the Mahavamsa is still our best and most reliable source for the Knowledge of Sinhalese History and Civilization. In this first article the learned author deals mainly about the kings and their families and the composition and customs of the royal court.

* *

Mother Worship is the theme of an article in the *Vedanta Kesari* for October 1935. The article deals with the philosophical idea behind the conception of Divine Motherhood and its spiritual and social significance. An attempt is also made to remove the misunderstandings that have gathered round Mother Worship. A few paragraphs deal with Svami Ramakrishna and Śakti Worship.

* * *

It is permissible to infer that there must have existed a close and constant contact and a regular communication by sea between the Coromandel and the countries overseas, and that during several centuries (c. 300–800 A.D.) the Indo-Aryan influence kept spreading far and wide in those lands, while, at the same time, strengthening the cultural relations, writes Mr. B. Ch. Chhabra in an article entitled "Expansion of Indo-Aryan Culture during the Pallava Rule" appearing in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for May 1935, a period which roughly coincides with the rule of the Pallava Dynasty in South India. He concludes that the culture of Further India and Indonesia during this period bears an unmistakable stamp of Pallava influence. The article is exhaustive and is well worth perusal by students of Pallava history and culture.

* * *

Prof. Sri Rama Sharma writes on Prince Shah Jahan in Bengal as described in *Baharistan-i-Ghaibi*—in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XI, No. 1. Prof. Sudhindra Nath Bhattacharya has already contributed an article to the pages of the same *Journal* for the previous quarter on the same subject. The value of the present article lies in its abridged rendering of the original which will be of great value to future writers on the subject. It will be recalled that Prof. Sharma has since published translations of other portions of the work in the *J.I.H.*, Vols. XII and XIII.

* * *

Prof. Otto Spies has done a distinct service by translating into English (*Muslim University Journal*, June 1935) the

Journal of the P. W.

Vol. 46 No. 3
Jan.-Ap. 8-17-6



KING GEORGE V AND KING EDWARD VIII

(From CARRINGTON: *The Life and Reign of King George V*)

Quarterly Journal of
The Mythic Society

Vol. 26, No. 344, Jan.-April, 1936

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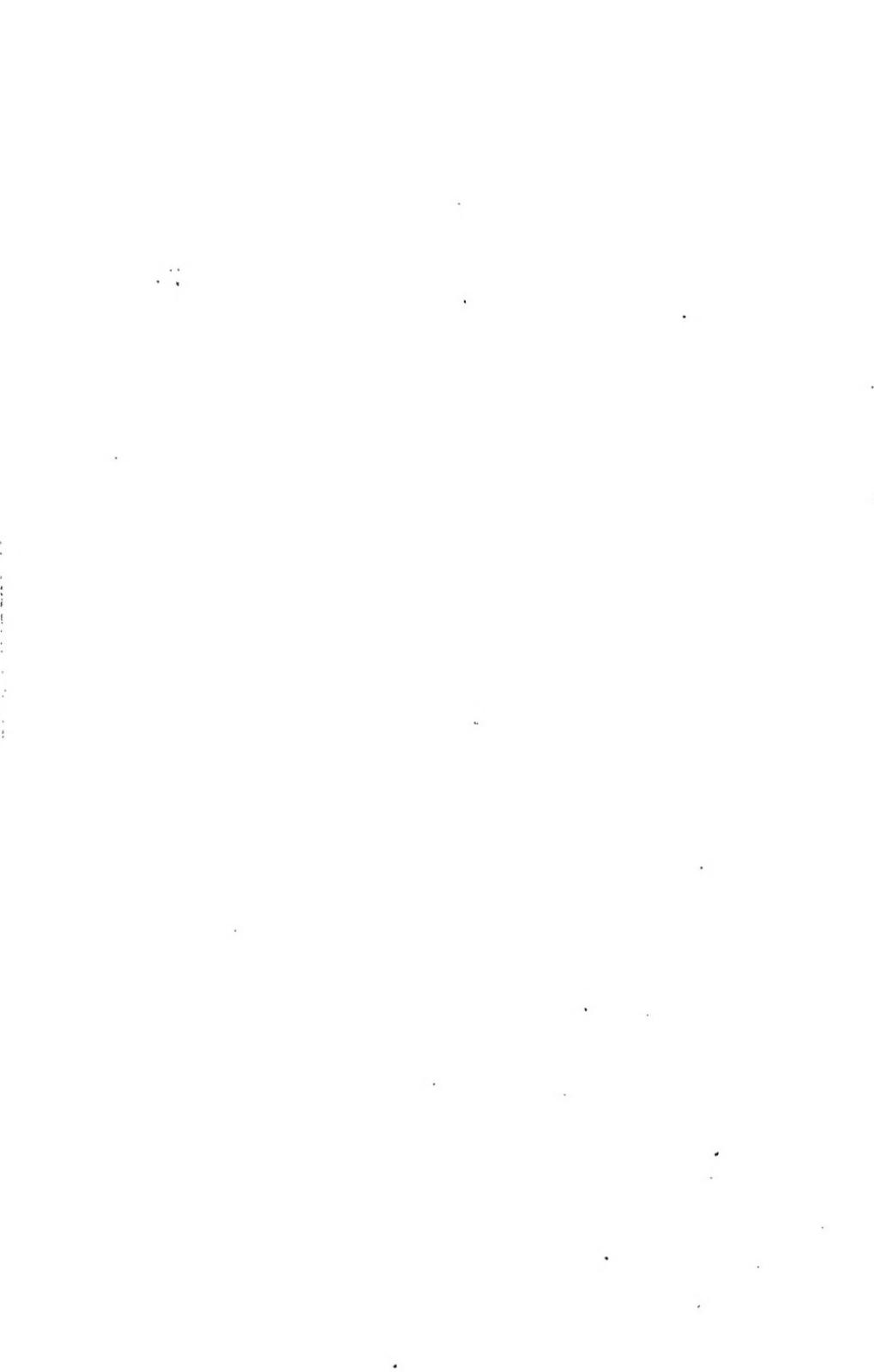
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ĀNANDABODHA'S AUTHORSHIP OF
NYĀYADĪPIKĀ AND LIMITS FOR HIS DATE.

By P. K. GODE, M.A.

In his illuminating article on the Date of *Iṣṭasiddhi* of Vimuktātman, Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao¹ makes the following cautious statement about the authorship of the *Nyāyadīpikā*, a commentary on the *Sābdanirṇaya* of Prakāśatman :—

"If this Ānandabodha is the same person as the one of that name who was the author of *Pramāṇaratnamālā*, a treatise on the Advaita system and the *Sābdanirṇayavyākhyā* (or *Dīpikā* or *Nyāyadīpikā*), etc." The above remarks appear to contain a doubt about Ānandabodha's authorship of *Nyāyamakaranda* and *Nyāyadīpikā*.

I have pointed out in my note on the date of Ānandabodha² that the author of the *Nyāyamakaranda* and *Nyāyadīpikā* appears to be identical for the following reasons :—

¹ *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 278–279.

² *Calcutta Oriental Journal*, Vol. II (1935).

(1) Ānandabodha in his *Nyāyamakaranda* refers to the *Nyāyadīpikā*, which was presumably composed by him earlier as the following lines will show :—

“दिज्ञात्रमत्र सूचितं विस्तरस्तु न्यायदीपिकायामवगन्तव्यः”

(2) The manner in which the above reference is made by Ānandabodha shows that to save much labour in exposition he is pointing his finger to a detailed exposition of the topic under discussion in the *Nyāyamakaranda*.

(3) In the Madras MS. of *Nyāyadīpikā*, the following statement proves that the author of the treatise was Ānandabodha :—

“दुसर्क ध्वांतपटलप्रपाटनपटीयसी इयमानंदबोधेन रचिता न्यायदीपिका”

Prima facie, therefore, the above facts appear to clear up the doubt of Mr. Hayavadana Rao about Ānandabodha's authorship of both the (1) *Nyāyamakaranda* and (2) *Nyāyadīpikā*, though I have not verified the reference to *Nyāyadīpikā* found in his *Nyāyamakaranda* in the text of the Madras MS. of the *Nyāyadīpikā*.

Another point which I want to bring to the notice of Mr. Hayavadana Rao is the reference by Candūpanḍita in his commentary on the *Naiṣadha* composed in A.D. 1297. He quotes a long passage from the *Nyāyamakaranda*³ of Ānandabodha as follows :—

“असति प्रत्यक्षविषयत्वे भेदस्य अनुमानस्यापि व्याप्यव्यापकभेदज्ञानाधीनस्य भेदावभासे प्रामाण्यं निरस्तम्.....इत्थं निरस्तनिख्लप्रतिकूल तर्कात् वेदान्तवाक्यनिकराचिखिलोऽपि भेदः। शक्यो निषेद्गुमिति सिद्धमनायविद्या, तद्वासनाविरचितभ्रममात्रसिद्धिः” ॥ इति श्रीमदानन्दबोधाचार्यैरपि न्यायमकरंदे भेदं निराकुर्वद्विरुक्तम् ।

A.D. 1297 is, therefore, one sure terminus to Ānandabodha's date and it is in harmony with the inscriptional evidence brought forth by Mr. Hayavadana Rao for the date of Citsukha, who commented Ānandabodha's *Nyāyamakaranda*.

³ *Naiṣadha Carita*, edited by Haudiqui, 1934 (Punjab Ori. Series), p. 480.

According to this inscriptional evidence, Citsukha's literary activity may fall between A. D. 1220 and 1284, the dates of the two inscriptions in which Citsukha is styled as Citsukha Somayājin and Citsukha Bhāṭṭāraka *alias* Narasimhamuni. If the Citsukha mentioned in the inscriptions is identical with the commentator of Ānandabodha's *Nyāyamakaranda*, it would appear that Caṇḍūpanḍita, the author of the *Naisadhaṭīkā* and Citsukhācārya were almost contemporaries, Caṇḍū being possibly a younger contemporary.

Mr. Hayavadana Rao rightly looks upon the date of Prakāśātman as the other terminus to the date of Ānandabodha. If this date of Prakāśātman is finally fixed, we shall be in a position to clinch the issue with some certainty. At present, two dates for Prakāśātman are put forward. They are :—

(1) *A. D. 1200*.—According to Dr. Das Gupta,⁴ this date is given to Prakāśātman several times in the *History of Indian Philosophy* but in all these references the grounds for this date are not mentioned. I had requested Dr. Das Gupta to let me know his grounds for this date but have not yet heard from him in reply.

Dr. T. R. Chintamani of the Madras University writes to me in a private communication dated 22nd March 1935, as follows :—

"The date of Prakāśātman adopted by you from Dr. Das Gupta is not correct for it is very well and widely known that Rāmānuja who lived between A.D. 1015 and 1137 has criticized in his *Bhāṣya* the syllogism of Prakāśātman. In view of this fact, it is impossible to bring down Prakāśātman to any period later than A.D. 1000. The date 1200 for Prakāśātman is definitely wrong. The date of Citsukha is fairly correct (A.D. 1200) and Ānandabodha who preceded him cannot be later than at least A.D. 1150. He was probably slightly older."

⁴ *History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II, p. 17, foot-note 2 and at other places in the volume.

I have not examined the grounds of Dr. Chintamani's criticism of the date A.D. 1200 for Prākāśātman as given by Dr. Das Gupta but have quoted his view to enable Mr. Hayavadana Rao to survey his facts in the light of this criticism.

(2) A.D. 1000.—Prof. M. Hiriyanna⁵ as quoted by Mr. Hayavadana Rao assigns Prakāśātman to A.D. 1000. This view appears to come nearer to Dr. Chintamani's view stated above that Prakāśātman is not later than A.D. 1000.

The chronological order of the several writers mentioned above may now be reported as under :—

- (1) *Prakāśātman*.—1200 A.D. (Dr. Das Gupta).
- 1000 A.D. (Prof. Hiriyanna).
- not later than A.D. 1000.
- (Dr. Chintamani).

(2) *Rāmānuja*.—Between A.D. 1015 and 1137.

(3) *Ānandabodha*.—Before A.D. 1297 (Candūpaṇḍita).

(4) *Citsukha*.—Between A.D. 1220 and 1284 (Inscriptions).

In the present state of the above chronology for want of a more definite date for Prakāśātman, I am inclined to agree in general with Mr. Hayavadana Rao in his remarks about Ānandabodha's date, viz. : “Ānandabodha should be assigned to a date somewhat later than A.D. 1000 say *circa* A.D. 1050” but may go a step further and conclude that he may have flourished between 1050 and A.D. 1100.

⁵ *Outlines of Indian Philosophy*, (London, 1932), p. 340,

BĀLACARITAM.

BY K. R. PISHAROTI, M.A.

(Continued from Vol. XXVI, Nos. 1 & 2, p. 33)

Act IV.

(Then enter Dāmodara⁵³)

Dāmodara.—These damsels whose eyes look like those of the intoxicated young Cakoras, whose beautiful breasts are rising and falling, whose beauty is enhanced by their quivering lips, whose wreath-like hair is dishevelled, who are bewildered and have their upper garments fallen down, who are overcome with fear and are trembling—these lovely Gopis follow me after having seen the lordly serpent. (1)

(Then enter the Gopa damsels)

All.—Don't, don't, O Lord, enter these waters. This is the abode of the family of that wicked lordly serpent.

Dāmodara.—Don't, don't be afraid. See girls!

Splashing and entering into the dark blue waters of this ocean-like pool which is devoid of birds and every water animal, and which is sombre, on being unused by the terrified herd of elephants, I shall, though prevented by the affectionate, well-meant, and tender words of the anxious Gopis, overcome the strong serpent Kāliya who loves to dwell in the Kālindi. (2)

All.—O master Saṅgharṣaṇa, prevent, prevent master Dāmodara.

(Entering)

Saṅgharṣaṇa.—Enough, enough of your sorrows and your fears. You have shown your love. See you girls!

The cruel serpent, the fiery and terrible poison emitted from whose mouth has spread an unlucky yellow pallor

⁵³ This scene takes place the same day, immediately after and in continuation of the last scene.

over the face of the horizon, is afraid and is bowing low with his heads within his hoods on seeing the quickly approaching Kṛṣṇa. (3)

All.—Hem, master Dāmodara also is like that.

Dāmodara.—For the welfare of all life, I shall quickly subdue the serpent. (*Enter the pool.*)

All.—Alas, alas, there is smoke arisen !

Dāmodara.—Ah, how unfathomable is the pool ! Here indeed !

Unto the waves of the Yamuna pregnant with the fiery poison and smoky with the fumes of Kāliya, do I give (back) their lustre of the dark siñeen freize resembling molten sky blue. (4)

(*Exit*)

(*Then enter the aged Cowherd*)

Aged Cowherd.—Alas, master, though prevented by the damsels, he is entering into the Jumna pool ! Don't, don't be so rash to enter. Whoever drinks its waters, tigers or bears or elephants, fall down dead even there. How now not to be seen ? What now shall I do ? Well, I shall ascend the *Palāśa* tree and look on. (*Ascending and looking*) Alas, alas, smoke arises !

Saṅgharṣaṇa.—Look, ladies, look !

Having subdued the serpent and ruffled the waters from top to bottom, Dāmodara, standing upon the body of the dark blue serpent, shines like Indra standing on the clouds. (5)

Aged Cowherd.—Ha, Ha ! Well done, master, well done.

(*Then enter Dāmodara, catching hold of Kāliya*)

Dāmodara.—Here is, indeed !

Taunting Kāliya writhing in agony with one foot of mine on his hood and my banner-like arms waving, I shall perform the lovely *Hallisaka* on the body of the great serpent whose hood is emitting poison. (6)

All.—Wonderful, lord, wonderful ! He performs a *Hallisaka* (dance) crushing the five hoods of Kāliya.

Dāmodara.—Now, I too shall collect flowers.⁵⁴

Kāliya.—Ah !

As the great mountain encircles the earth, as the cord of Siva's bow, Vāsuki encircled Mandara in the ocean, so shalt thou be encircled by my great and round and hard body⁵⁵ and quickly sent to the kingdom of heaven. (7)

Aged Cowherd.—Ah, Ah ! my Lord ! This our beloved *Dāmodara*, striking the great serpent, in size as big as the Jumna pool, with the foot-fall of his flower-like feet, is collecting flowers. (*Getting down*) Well done, Sir, well done ! Take care, take care. I shall help you.⁵⁶ Alas, I am afraid, my Lord, I am afraid. I shall go and inform Nandagopa.

(*Exit*)

Dāmodara.—From out of the pool of the Jumna which has its fishes and sharks destroyed, I shall drag the long and round bodied poisonous serpent steadily breathing hard in its fulness of pride, and throw him on the earth. (8)

Kāliya.—Hem, there is he !

My body is fuming with anger and the earth becomes hot by it. I shall now burn you with the wreaths of my flames. Let the earth with all the hosts of Maruts protect you. (9)

Dāmodara.—Kāliya, if thou hast the power, burn at least an arm of mine.

Kāliya.—Ha, Ha, Ha !

I can burn the whole earth to the ends of the oceans with all its seven *Kulaparvatas*. Shall I, then, not burn your arm ? (10)

⁵⁴ This statement appears strange as it stands, for there has been no reference to the collecting of flowers. Possibly, there may be some omission in the text. The pool must have been rich in flowers for nobody dared to pluck them before on account of the presence of Kāliya.

⁵⁵ Here, we would read *kaṭhinābhogena* instead of *kaṭhino bhogena*.

⁵⁶ The character of the aged Cowherd is well depicted. For, he has the enthusiasm of a youth but not the physical strength.

Hem, stop there ; I shall reduce thee to ashes.

(*Emit fiery poison*)

Dāmodara.—Thou hast, indeed, shown thy valour.

Kāliya.—Be pleased, be pleased ! O Lord Nārāyaṇa.

Dāmodara.—By this (your) valour, you were proud.

Kāliya.—Be pleased, O Lord, be pleased !

The hand which raised aloft Govardhana, which is unrivalled for its powers, and which is strong like Mandara, what power have I to burn that hand of yours, O Lord of Devas, on which depend, O Lord of the three worlds, all the worlds ? (11)

O Lord, in ignorance have I transgressed. I crave for mercy with all my family.

Dāmodara.—O Kāliya, why did you occupy this Jumna pool ?

Kāliya.—I entered here in fear of Garuḍa, that noble conveyance of the Divine Lord. Through thy grace, I wish to be freed of that fear.

Dāmodara.—So be it, so be it.

The golden-winged will give thee *Abhaya*, O Lord of serpents, on seeing that thy head is marked with my foot-prints. (12)

Kāliya.—Blessed am I.

Dāmodara.—Thou mayst return.

Kāliya.—As the Divine Lord Nārāyaṇa orders.

Dāmodara.—Or come along.

Kāliya.—Divine Lord, here am I.

Dāmodara.—From this day forwards, thou shalt be careful regarding all life, cows, brahmins, etc.

Kāliya.—Divine Lord, these waters are poisoned by my poison.

Hence, even now I shall withdraw my poison and retire from this pool.

Dāmodara.—Thou mayst return.

Kāliya.—As the Divine Lord Nārāyaṇa orders.

(*Exit with his retinue*)

Dāmodara.—Now shall I hand over to the Gopa damsels the flowers I have collected from the pool.

All.—Here comes our Lord, unscathed, gladdening our eyes.
Hail, Lord !

Saṅgharṣaṇa.—How fortunate ! Good ! A service has been done to cows and brahmins.

Dāmodara.—Receive these flowers.

All.—Lord, these flowers have never been before gathered by the cowherds ; these are unused and are untouched by the rays of the Sun and the Moon. We are afraid, Lord.

Dāmodara.—The poor girls are terrified having seen the danger before. Don't be afraid, don't be afraid. These are now become beautiful on account of the contact with my hands. Receive them.

All.—As our Lord orders.

(*Entering*)

Ah, Gopālaka, where is gone the son of Nandagopa ?

Gopālaka.—There is the Lord, after suppressing the great serpent Kāliya, standing surrounded by the Gopa damsels.

Soldier (Approaching).—O, son of Nandagopa, the son of Ugrasena, who was faithful to his name, Kamsa, orders you.

Dāmodara.—What ? Orders, is it ?

Soldier.—There is to be the great festival, called *Dhanurmaha*, at Mathura ; accompanied by your followers you too must come to enjoy it.

Dāmodara.—This is a time sacred for Gods.

Saṅgharṣaṇa.—Let us now go quick.

Dāmodara.—So be it. All well. Now then :

With his jewelled crown struck down, his hair dishevelled, his garlands and *sūtras* broken, I shall drag down and kill Kamsa for his haughty deeds of yore as a lion does the lord of animals.⁵⁷ (13)

(*Exeunt all*)

End of Act IV.

⁵⁷ The interest of the act lies not in its dramatic conversation ; but, as before, in the richness of occasions for dramatic acting.

Act V.

(Then enter King)

King.—Having heard of the doings in the *Vraja* of Dāmodara accompanied by Bala, who has great prowess and valour and strength, I have organised the *festival of arms*. Leading them here (for the festival), I shall get them killed in the ring by the wrestlers. (1)

Dhruvasena ! Dhruvasena !

(Entering)

Soldier.—Hail, Your Majesty !

King.—Dhruvasena ! Is the child of Nandagopa come ?

Soldier.—May Your Majesty be pleased to listen.⁵⁸ As soon as Dāmodara entered (the city), accompanied by Saṅgharṣaṇa and surrounded by cowherds, he attacked the washermen and got clothes. Hearing of this, the great rutted elephant Utpalāpiṭa was sent by Mahāmātra to kill him. Then :

Seeing the elephant suddenly rushing at them, the boy from amidst the terrified Gopālakas, forcibly⁵⁹ caught the mountain-like lordly elephant by its tusks and quickly killed him. (2)

King.—What, killed ? Go again and find out what is happening ?

Soldier.—As Your Majesty orders.

(Going out and coming back)

Hail, Your Majesty ! Now that son of Nandagopa entered the main street which has been adorned by the festival authorities by setting up a tall flagstaff with a banner, and with festoons and garlands and perfumed with the smoke of Akil (agallochum); seeing the hunch-backed Madanika, carrying in her hands scents and perfumes at the palace gate, took these from her by force

⁵⁸ There should be some such sentence as *Yes, Your Majesty, he is come.*

⁵⁹ The word *balena* may also be interpreted to mean with the help of Bala, i.e., Balabhadra.

and adorned his own body with them and by massaging her body made her alright ; then proceeding to the flower bazaar, he took flowers by force and adorning himself he went thence in the direction of the armoury.

King.—What, indeed, can he be about ? In any case, go quick and find out what is happening.

Soldier.—As Your Majesty orders. (*Going out and returning*) Hail, Your Majesty ! Though prevented by the lion-like keeper of the armoury, he killed him by a blow on his cheek, took the bow and broke it into two and is now proceeding to the *Upasthāna* (*grha*). He is, indeed :

Wondrously adorned in unfaded garlands and peacock feathers, dressed in yellow silk, and having the complexion of the cluster of water-laden clouds, he is coming with his broad eyes open wide in anger, accompanied by Rāma, like the God of Death incarnate. (3)

King.—(*To himself*) My heart seems flurried. (*Aloud.*) Go and get Cāṇūra and Muṣṭika as instructed and order out the army of Vṛṣṇi youths.

Soldier.—As Your Majesty orders. (*Exit*)

King.—Now, I shall also go up the palace and witness the fight of Cāṇūra and Muṣṭika. (*Ascending*) Madhurike, open the door.

Portress.—As my lord orders.

(*Enter King and sit down*)

(*Then enter Cāṇūra and Muṣṭika*)

Cāṇūra.—Proud and haughty like an elephant, I am ready for the duel. In the centre of the ring I shall break the boy Dāmodara. (4)

Muṣṭika.—I am the angry Muṣṭika with fists like iron. I shall fell Rāma down as Vajra does the mountain peak. (5)

Soldier.—Here is His Majesty. Approach you now.

(*Approaching*)

Both.—Hail Lord !

King.—Cāṇūra and Muṣṭika ! You must discharge your obligation to me at any cost.

Both.—Listen, Lord ! We shall attain success by the peculiar fight of striking at the joints.

King.—Well, do so. Dhruvasena, go and bring in the Gopa boys.

Soldier.—As Your Majesty orders. (*Exit*)

(*Then enter Dāmodara and Saṅgharṣaya accompanied by Soldier*)

Dāmodara.—Brother !

Futile will be my birth among men as well as my doings in the Ghoṣa and now in the city shall I have no pleasure until I strike down the accursed Kamsa in battle and suppress him, who was an Asura in his previous birth. (6)

Saṅgharṣaya.—Entering the ring and killing that angry Mustika with my iron-like fist, I shall, angry like a fire, saunter, like a hanging cloud in the sky. (7)

Soldier.—There is the King ! Approach you two.

Both.—Ah ! Whose King ?

Soldier.—Of the whole earth and of us.

Dāmodara.—From this day onwards, he is not.

Soldier.—May it please Your Majesty ! Here are they.

King (seeing).—He is that Dāmodara. Ah !

He is noble ; has the bold and graceful gait of an elephant blinded by rut ; is dark in complexion ; his shoulders and hands are well-set and his breast is broad and thick. His deeds, reported before, are not strange. He has the strength to revolve all the three worlds. (8)

That must be his elder brother Rāma, graceful and dignified ; clad in blue with eyes pure and long like a fresh lotus, with a figure like the moon, with his hands round and long and shield-like and with the dark garland of *utpalā* flowers swaying about. (9)

Dāmodara.—Brother, I think these two are ready to fight with us ?

Saṅgharṣaya.—It must be so.

King.—Dhruvasena, let the duel begin.

Soldier.—As Your Majesty orders.

(*Throw the garland*⁶⁰)

Wrestlers.—Ah ! Sound the martial music.

Cāṇūra.—Come, Dāmodara ; attain peace through my hands.

Dāmodara.—I am come, stop and receive my force.

Muṣṭika.—Ha, ha, Rāma ! To-day shalt thou leave off thy life with thy body crushed with my fists weltering in a pool of blood.

Saṅgharṣaṇa.—*Muṣṭika, I shall announce thee to Yama.*

(All fight a duel)

Dāmodara (Killing Cāṇūra).—Killed is he with his bones broken.

Saṅgharṣaṇa.—Killed by me also.

Dāmodara.—And the Asura Kamsa also shall I send to the abode of Yama.⁶¹ (10)

(*Ascending the mansion, catching Kamsa by the head, and striking him down*)

This, this is the wicked Kamsa !

Broad⁶² and ruddy is his face ; round are his eyes ; his shoulders and neck, his waist and knee, his hands and thigh are broken ; shattered is his necklace and *Lambasūtra*. Here, he lies like a mountain with its peak felled by lightning. (11)

(*In the postscenium*)

Alas, alas, Your Majesty !

(*Again in the postscenium*)

Hear, hear, Vṛṣṇi soldiers ! Anāvṛṣṭi, Śivaka, Hṛdika, Pr̥thuka, Somadatta, Akrūra, the time has come for performing the funeral obsequies of the Lord. Come, sires, quick.

⁶⁰ This serves as the signal for the beginning of the duel.

⁶¹ The italicised sentences all together constitute one verse. This is a peculiar feature of the dramas of the series.

⁶² Here is again an interesting point to be noticed, I mean the disposition of the stage. As suggested before, the stage must be in two different levels. In the lower which corresponds to the *Raṅgasīrṣa* of Bharata, the wrestling match takes place and on the *Raṅgapīṭha*, the king will be killed.

Dāmodara.—Brother, stop the army.

Saṅgharṣaṇa.—I, I shall stop the army.

I shall with my arms ruffle this army resounding terrible with the speed of horses and chariots and elephants and terrified soldiers and shining with swords, barbed missiles, lances, pikes, and spears, similar unto the ocean tossed about by a strong wind and adorned with wreaths of foam. (12)

(*Then enter Vasudeva*)

Ho ! Ho ! Citizens of Mathura ! Enough of your rashness.

The elder of these is my son Rāhīneya ; and this is the son of Devaki. Do you not know ? Stop all talk of fight. Of what use are arms ? He is Viṣṇu himself come here for the purpose of killing Kamsa. (13)

Saṅgharṣaṇa.—(*Looking*) Ah ! Father ! Father, I, Saṅgharṣaṇa, make my obeisance.

Dāmodara.—Father, I, Dāmodara, make my obeisance.

Vasudeva.—May you both be eternally victorious ! I have this day realised the fruits of having good children.

Both.—Blessed are we.

Vasudeva.—Who is there ?

(*Entering*)

Soldier.—Hail, Lord.

Vasudeva.—Remove the bodies.

Soldier.—As my lord orders.⁶³

All cowherds.—Ha, ha ! it has become the kingdom of cowherds.

Vasudeva.—Who is there ?

Soldier.—Hail, Lord.

Vasudeva.—Go quick, order Anāvṛṣṭi on the words of Dāmodara:

Bring King Ugrasena released from the prison and crowned.

Soldier.—As my lord orders. (*Exit*)

Vasudeva.—Ah !

⁶³ There must be the stage direction : Remove the dead bodies,

The divine musical instruments are sounded ; and it rains flowers ; to honour the destroyer of Kamsa, the Gods have come. (14)

(*In the postscenium*)

This lotus-eyed, prosperous Lord of Devas, the best of Suras and the conqueror of all the three worlds, may He ever protect Mathura with its rows of mansions adorned with gold, with its broad palaces, and bazaars and towers. (15)

Vasudeva.—Hail, citizens of Mathura ! Listen, Listen, Sirs ! Obey the orders of Ugrasena who has this day been reinstated in the kingdom, thanks to the grace of Vasudeva's son, Vāsudeva, who is clever enough to break even the fortress of Devas and whose mere glance turns away all Kṣatriyas.

All.—Well, secure now is the kingdom of Vṛṣṇis.

*Vasudeva*⁶⁴.—Who is there ?

Soldier.—May it please, Lord !

Vasudeva.—Bring in the King.

Soldier.—As my lord orders. (*Exit*)

(*Then enter Ugrasena*)

Ugrasena.—My ills arising from long imprisonment have now come to an end, thanks to the destroyer of the Keśin like those of Indra through the valour of Viṣṇu. (16)

Thanks to the Divine Grace, I have been helped to cross over the ocean of misery.

(*Then enter Nārada*)

At the instance of the Devas and in company with the Gandharvas and the Apsaras, I have come here from Deva-loka to offer obeisance to Viṣṇu after His destruction of Kamsa. (17)

Dāmodara.—Ah! Here is the Devarṣi Nārada ! Devarṣi, welcome ! Here are *Arghya* and *Pādya*.

⁶⁴ The additional text as suggested by the editor must be there,

Nārada.—I accept all. Gandharvas and Apsaras are singing :
 Nārāyaṇa ! Our obeisance to you. The Devatas
 bow down to you.

You have well saved the world by this destruction
 of the Asura. (18)

Dāmodara.—Devarṣi ! I am well pleased. What more may I
 do for you ?

Nārada.—If Viṣṇu is pleased with me, all my work is fruitful.
 I shall return to heaven with all the Devas. (19)

Dāmodara.—Go, may we meet again.

Nārada.—As the Divine Lord Nārāyaṇa orders. (*Exit*)

Epilogue.

May our Rājasimha⁶⁵ unrivalled in sovereignty, rule
 over the earth girdled by the ocean and adorned by the
 ear-pendants of the Himalayas and the Vindhya.⁶⁶ (20)

(*Exeunt all*)

*End of Act V.*⁶⁷

END OF BĀLACARITAM.

⁶⁵ It may be interesting to point out that a few years back an inscription has been discovered in the Tālakkād Church near Iringalakuda, in which a Rājasimha figures as a king of Kerala. This fact, coupled with the numerous local touches and the presence of the local stage technique, tends to prove that this drama and many other dramas of the series reveal the hand of a Kerala writer.

⁶⁶ As we have already mentioned, it deserves to be emphasised in conclusion that the importance of the work lies in affording scope for acting. This feature should not be forgotten in appraising the work, for it lacks in all other real dramatic elements.

⁶⁷ The rendering here presented was written by me when I was studying the *Bhāsa Problem* a decade ago and no substantial change has been made in it since then.

DRAVIDIC SANDHI

BY L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, M.A., B.L.

(Continued from Vol. XXVI, No. 1, p. 112)

II

Consonants and Vowels

THE consonants appearing as finals in the south Dravidian speeches are respectively the following :

Literary Tamil : *y, r, l, l̄, n, n̄, n'*, *m, v, ñ*.

Malayālam : *y, r, l, l̄, n¹⁷, n̄, m*.

Kannada : *y, r, l, l̄, n, n̄, m, r*.

Literary Telugu: The so-called *druta n* which is consonantal, and *l* and *r* in the oldest inscriptions and texts.

For literary Tamil, TE 78 mentions the consonants occurring in final positions. *y, r, l, l̄, n, n̄* and *m* are of very frequent occurrence ; but the others are somewhat rare :—

-*n'* occurs in the ancient forms *porun'* (joining) and *verin'* (back) only [TE, 79] ;

-*ñ* is found only in the ancient form *uriñ* (rubbing) [TE, 80] ;

-*v* is said to be the final of the demonstrative bases *av, iv, uv* and of *tev* (enmity) [TE, 81].

TE 49 says that *r* and *l̄* cannot be finals when preceded by a short vowel in monosyllabic words [*ra-gâra lagâra kut't'r-ot't'r-âgâ*], so much so that these can occur as finals in monosyllabic forms like *ûr* (country), *kîl* (below) where the radical vowel is long, or in dissyllabic forms like *ugir* (nail) and *viral* (finger). This fact, it may be mentioned in passing, is true of Mal. and of Kann. also.

¹⁷ The distinction between dental *n'* and alveolar *n* is preserved in Mal. pronunciation [L, II, 7, *vyâkhyâ*] though not represented by separate symbols ; in modern Tamil evaluation, no difference exists between *n'* and *n* but they are always distinguished in symbolic representation. In other south Dravidian speeches, no difference is recognized between the two symbolically or phonetically.

L III 13 expressly points out that *ñ* and *n'* cannot occur as finals in Mal., though they exist respectively in Tamil *uriñ* and *porun'*; further, it tells us that the sound *r̥* is always followed (as in Tamil) by the *samvrta* sound and that, therefore, it should not be regarded as a consonantal final. The observation about *ñ* and *n'* is important in that the few words of old Tamil with these sounds as finals were never inherited by Malayālam; there are reasons to think that these words went out of use even in mediæval Tamil. The remark about *r̥* being always followed by a *samvrta* is interesting inasmuch as it shows that the modern practice of regarding¹⁸ *r̥* as an optional final in Mal. words like *vayar* (belly), *payar* (gram). [KP, p. 96] had not received recognition during the period of Līlatilakam. It may be observed here that the Tamil grammarians from Tolkāppiyānār downwards have classified this *r̥* as a plosive which like other members of its class always incorporates a supporting vowel in final positions.

For Kannada, Śmd 148 lists the following as consonantal finals :—*y, r, l, l̥, n, n̥, m* and *r̥*. Except *r̥*, the others are the same as in early Mal. The recognition of *r̥* as a consonantal final (by Śmd) in Kannada words like *nēsar* (the sun) [cf. Tam. *ñāyirū*], *kesar* (mud, clay) [cf. Tam. *sērū*], *basir* (belly) [cf. Tam. *vayirūl*], *poravār* (buttocks) is at variance with the Tam. as well as early Mal. rule that *r̥*¹⁹ never stands as a final. The divergence, I think, is only apparent; for, the texts do not show anywhere these Kannada forms without a supporting *-u* except in compounds like *nēsar-pad-* (for the sun to set), *basir-kutta* (diarrhoea), *basirgal* (bellies), *mār-koral* (another voice), *bēr-pad-* (to become

¹⁸ In modern Mal. word-compounds like *vēr-tiri-* (to separate) [*vēr(u)* + *tiri*], *kūr-pāḍ*, a final *r̥* directly meets a consonant following. Such junctions are not tolerated in Tamil; probably this Mal. feature led to *r̥* in *kayar*, *vayar* being considered by modern grammarians as absolute finals.

¹⁹ For a discussion of the sound *r̥* in Tamil and its relationship to the Tam.—Mal. alveolar plosive, see my paper on "The History of the Alveolar Plosive in Tamil" [HAP] in JMU, July 1934.

separate), *mâr-nudi* (counter-word or reply), *mâr-kôl* (counter-arrow), in all of which, be it noted, *r* has changed to *r* in consonantal combination. I think that this must have influenced Śmd²⁰ in postulating *r* as a consonantal final.

In literary Telugu, all consonants (except the *druta n*) incorporated the supporting vowel *-u* from an early time ; even the *druta n* in what is described (quite wrongly !) by the grammarians as its *svatvamu* form came to take on the supporting vowel in certain circumstances. But compounds like the following occurring in the early texts would indicate that *l*, *r* and *y* were consonantal finals in an earlier stage : [cf. AC, 60] *kal-drâvi* (having drunk liquor), *ittur-mahâdâtulu* (great philanthropists will give), *vil-naraki*, *andar-vacci*, *kondar-vedali* [in the two last-mentioned instances, *r* < *r*] ; cf. also *bhûpâlur*, *asurul*, etc. in Bhârata.

A few remarks regarding the consonantal finals in the colloquials of Tamil, Mal., and Kannada are necessary in this connection.

While literary Tamil invariably keeps *y*, *r*, *l*, *l̄*, *l̄̄*, *n*, *n̄*, *m* without supporting vowels in final positions, the colloquial optionally allows all the literary consonantal finals except *y* and *m* to be followed by the *kut't'reyal-ugaram u*. Roughly speaking, the following rules are true of colloquial Tamil :—

	Lit. Tam.	Colloquial
(1) Original monosyllabic forms with short radical vowels— <i>n</i> , <i>n̄</i> , <i>l</i> , <i>l̄</i>	<i>pon</i> (gold) <i>kan</i> (eye) <i>kal</i> (stone) <i>mul</i> (thorn)	<i>pon</i> , <i>ponnu</i> <i>kan</i> , <i>kanñnu</i> <i>kal</i> , <i>kallu</i> <i>mul</i> , <i>mullu</i>

Usually before pauses, the mass-colloquial employs forms like *ponnu* [with the original consonantal final lengthened and with the supporting vowel *u*], etc ; before consonants, either form is used, but the employment of the forms with the consonants as finals is more common among the literate and those who associate with the literate.

²⁰ Cf. also Śmd, 191, which prescribes elision of *-u* of *nûru* in compounds like *nûr-mâtu*.

(2) Original monosyllabic forms with long radical vowels— <i>n</i>	<i>tēn</i> (honey) <i>nān</i> (I) <i>mān</i> (deer)	<i>tēn</i> <i>nān</i> <i>mān</i>
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The use of forms like *tēnu*, *nānu*, *mānu* with the supporting vowel is rare in the ordinary colloquial of the Brahmins; but I have heard such forms occurring in the speech of the so-called "low" castes, especially before pauses.

(3) Original monosyllabic forms with long radical vowels— <i>l</i> , <i>l</i> , <i>n</i> , <i>l</i>	<i>kāl</i> (leg) <i>vāl</i> (sword) <i>tūn</i> (pillar)	<i>kāl</i> , <i>kālu</i> <i>vāl</i> , <i>vālu</i> <i>tūn</i> , <i>tūnu</i>
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The rule for (1) above holds good here.

(4) Original dissyllabic forms with short vowels— <i>l</i> , <i>l</i> , <i>n</i> , <i>n</i>	<i>ural</i> (pestle) <i>śurul</i> (curl)	<i>oral</i> , <i>oralu</i> <i>śurul</i> , <i>śurulu</i>
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Except for forms of high frequency like *avan* (he), *aval* (she) in which the use of a final *u* after *n* and *l* would smack of illiteracy, the words of this category generally have in the colloquial a final *u*; here again, as in (1) above, the alternative forms with consonantal finals are heard sometimes only in speech of the literate.

Words with *-y* and *-m* do not have any supporting vowel at all in the colloquial: *mey* (truth), *kay* (hand), *vāy* (mouth), *ām* [*< agam*] (house), *maram* (tree).

All that I have said above with reference to the colloquial of Tamil is true of Malayālam colloquial also, subject however to a few peculiarities which I mention below:

(i) The supporting vowel has the value of *ə* before pauses and back consonants but approximates to *u* before labial consonants; cf. the illustrations above.

(ii) Forms like *kayyə* (hand), *ceyyə* (do thou!), *payyə* (cow) [an adaptation from IA] are sometimes heard in the colloquial.

(iii) A unique supporting vowel *-a* appears in certain regional colloquiials in forms like *vāya* (mouth), *kāya* (fruit), *pāya* (mat). This *-a* is not organic; and both in vocalic and in older consonantal sandhi, it disappears.

While ancient Kannada generally used the forms with the consonantal finals, this speech began to introduce even in the

later stages of the ancient dialect²¹ the supporting vowel *-u*, after *-l*, *-l̄*, *-r*, etc. [K Gr., p. 139]. This use of the supporting vowel became quite common later on. This enunciative is always employed in the modern dialect.

So far as colloquial Telugu is concerned, the only consonant occurring in final positions is *-m*; in other instances, either the supporting vowel is employed (with greater or lesser degree of distinctness); or in the case of *n* followed by the supporting vowel *-u*, the entire syllable *-nu* is dropped in certain forms in unaccented positions in regional varieties of the colloquial.

In Tulu, the enunciative *uu* (or its substitute *u*), modified under the influence of a rounded vowel in the preceding syllable, is always incorporated after all consonants (except *y, m*) in final positions.

Tamil

1. Final short *l, n, l̄, n, y* (and *m*)²² of original monosyllabic words with short vowels become lengthened when immediately followed by vowels in *sandhi* contexts.

TE 161 and N 205 refer to this change. Though the consonants themselves are not specifically listed in these *sūtras*, those concerned according to general rules are the above ones. The lengthening of these consonants takes place only (i) when the forms (or bases) concerned are monosyllabic, and (ii) the radical vowels are short. In other types, there is no gemination [N 204].

²¹ Kittel adduces the following illustrations from early Kannada inscriptions: *magalu* [8th century]; *kallu* [11th century]; *ūru, sodarii, mattaru* [12th century].

²² Some instances in which *-m* is doubled in this context are the following: (i) the pronominal bases *em-*, *nam-*, *num-*, *tam-* in compounds when followed by vowels and in inflectional endings except the fourth and the sixth case endings: *nam-m-ūr, nam-m, ai* [Acc.], but *nam-a-kku* [Dat.], *nam-a-dui* [Gen.]. The plural genitive *nam-a* has also the variant *nam-m-a* in late Tamil, cf. Kann. *namma* beside *nama* [Śmd, 142]; (ii) the old literary words *am, kam*.

The instances belonging to this category of change may be classified thus:

- (i) Nouns in combinative sequences such as word-compounds and intimate sentence-constructions: *pon-n-oli* (shine of gold), *kal-l-âmi* (stone nail), etc.

(ii) Noun-bases followed by casal terminations with initial vowels: *man-n-ai* [Accusative of *man* 'soil, sand'], *kal-l-in* [5th case of *kal* 'stone'].

(iii) Noun-bases as used in the colloquial, when followed by the supporting vowel: *kal-l-u* (toddy), *pul-l-u* (grass); *y* and *m*, however, remain unaffected in the colloquial (see above).

(iv) In the formation of verb-forms from verbal bases (with *-l*, *-n*, *-l̄*, *-ñ* and *-y*), I have noted the following differences in connection with the gemination of these sounds:

(a) In the negative finites and in the negative participles with *-â* and *-âdu*, these sounds (*viz.*, *-l*, *-l̄*, *-n*, *-ñ*, *-y* of the verb-bases) are generally found doubled in Tamil: *sellâ*, *sellân*, *kollâdu*, *tinnâdu*, *unñâdu*, *seyyâdu*, etc.

(b) In the aoristic tense-forms with *-um*, these sounds occur generally doubled: *kollum*, *sellum*, *tinnum*, *unñum*, *seyyum*.

(c) The defective verb *ul* (to exist) which is conjugated in old Tamil without tense-endings (but with pronominal terminations) does not have its *-l* doubled: *-ul-êñ*, *ul-ây*, *ul-a*. Similarly, *-il* and *al* are conjugated without doubling of *-l*.

(d) In the Infinitive participles with *-a*, forms with and without gemination are met with in old Tamil:

en-a-, the Inf. participle of *en-* (to say)

<i>kol-a</i> [PN 14],	,,	,,	<i>kol-</i> (to take on)
<i>sel-a</i> [PN],	,,	,,	<i>sel-</i> (to enter, etc.)

sol-a [K, 728] beside *soll-a* [K, 649], the Inf. participle of
sol- (to speak)

kol-a [K. 699] the Inf. participle of *kol-* (to take on)

un-a [PP, III, 88] the Inf. participle of *un-* (to eat)
sey-a, [K, 1001] beside *seyy-a*, , ,
seyya [PN, 160, 24]
sela [K, 728].

(f) In Infinitives with *-al*, these sounds are optionally doubled in old texts :

sey-al [K, 33] beside *seyy-al* [K] ;
kolal (*t'*)-*kui* [PN, 62] ;
seyal [PN, 50] ;
uyal [K, 437] ;
selal [K, 1293] ;
solal [K, 291] ;

(g) Verb-forms with *-al*, performing the function of optatives with 'positive' and 'negative' significations are sometimes found without the sounds (concerned here) being doubled :

sey-al [affirmative] (K, 33)
en-al [negative] [K, 198].

(h) In verb-forms with *-in*, the affix importing a 'conditional' meaning, I have noted forms with and without doubling of the sounds under reference :

kol-in [K, 836] beside *kol-l-in*
sey-in [K, 120] beside *sey-y-in* [K, 205]
sel-in [PP, III, 279]
soll-in
selin-ê [PN, 67] but *sellin-um* [PN, 101, 106]
seyyin-um [PN, 103]
unil [K, 922] beside *unñin* [K, 945].

(i) In old Tam. verb-forms like *unî iyar* (for eating), *selîi* (having gone), *kolîi* (having taken), etc., there is no doubling of final *n*, *l*, *l*, *n* of the verb base.

These differences are not mentioned anywhere in the old Tamil grammars. The forms without doubling of the sounds *-l*, *-l*, *-n*, *-n*, *-y* do not occur in the colloquial where these sounds always appear geminated.

It is interesting in this connection to note that Kannada forms corresponding to some of the above show absence of

doubling ; and that these instances are expressly referred to by the Kannada grammars Śmd and Śś.

2. The treatment of final *m* in forms other than those in 1 above, before a following vowel in combinative contexts is regulated by the following rules :

(i) Before casal terminations, the *sāriyai-att-* [for which, see below] is generally used, though instances like *nalam-oḍu*, *ullam-oḍu*, [PP, III, 144] are also met with in the old texts.

(ii) In *vēt'trumai* compounds where the second constituents have initial vowels, *m* is sometimes replaced by -*v*- :

mara-v-adi (bottom of tree)—*maram+adi*.

Even here, the older practice appears to be the use of the *sāriyai-ati-*, as in *kul-att-ilai* (leaf in a pond) [*kulam+ilai*].

In *alvali* instances, there is no change : *maram-idu* (this a tree), *maram-um* (also a tree), etc.

(iii) The final -*m* of a number of nouns is optionally replaced in old Tamil by -*n*. This feature is hinted at by TE, 82, and expressly described by N.

This change of -*m* to -*n* is not peculiar to Tamil ; it is met with in Kannada and in the history of certain Telugu forms also. As it is very probable that the change was primarily caused by the position of -*m* before a vowel, these instances have to be referred to here. It may be stated at once that the forms with -*n* occur only before vowels, generally speaking ; when consonants follow, the forms in question have -*m* or *varga* nasals.

The change must have been very ancient in the speeches, since even the oldest Tamil texts show forms with -*n*. Not all forms with final -*m* show alternatives with -*n*. I give below a few instances from the old texts :

aran-irukku (fulfilling sacred duties) [PN, 3]—*aram*

nilan-um (and the earth) [PN, 2]—*nilam*

kalan-um [PN, 17]—*kalam*

ninan-undu (having drunk blood) [PP, III, 198]—*ninam*

pinan-ugaittu (having trampled upon the dead bodies) [PP, III, 199]—*piṇam*.

idān-ē (auspicious hour indeed) [Kal.]—*idam*.

idan-um (occasions, instances) [TS]—*i dam.*

palan-um (and fruits)—[P].

aram-um (and virtue) on the one hand and *aran-âkkam* (increase of virtue) on the other occur in Kural.

In the oldest texts, forms with *-n* alone are generally found.

Naccinarkiniyar in his commentary on TE, mentions that *-n* may appear alternatively instead of *-m* in the following forms (amongst others) :

nilam, nilan
kalam, kalan
valam, valan
kulam, kulan
kadam, kadan
polam, polan
pulam, pulan
kulam, kulan
valam, valan ;

and he further states that this change is not met with in words like *vaiṭtam* (roundness), *kūttam* (assemblage), *ōdam* (boat), etc. Neither the grammarians nor the commentators have pointed out that the forms with *-n* chiefly occur before vowels. The instances from the texts and the evidence of a parallel change in Kannada and in Telugu reveals that the change was primarily initiated by the intervocal position of *-m*.

3. The following ancient bases with *-d- -r-*, change these sounds respectively to *-t̪- -t' t'(r)* before vowels in word-compounds,

naḍu (middle)—*matt-adavi* (centre of the forest)

nēdu (long)—*neṭṭ-*

kaḍu (strong, severe)—*katt-erumbu*

kuru (short)—*kut't'r-âvu*

śiru (small)—*śit't'r-eli*

I have analysed these changes²³ in Tamil with reference to parallel changes in the other south Dravidian speeches in HAP.

Malayālam

1. The lengthening of final *l*, *l̄*, *n*, *n̄*, *y* and *m* of originally monosyllabic bases occurs in Mal. in all the contexts in which the change is met with in Tamil.

The Tamil exceptions to the rule of doubling are not met with in Mal.

L, III, 25 states the rule for Mal.

2. The treatment of final *-m* of words other than those in 1 above, before vowels following, is the same in Mal. as in Tamil except for one feature which reflects a colloquial tendency prominently in literary Mal.

-m followed by the *samuccaya -um* has changed to *-v-* in Mal. before the 13th century, so far as one can judge from the evidence of available west coast inscriptions. A 13th century Mal. inscription [TAS, IV, I, p. 87] shows *mūlav-um*, *yōgav-um*, etc., with this change.

Further *-m* in colloquial Mal. sequences like the following making *-m* intervocal is so weakened as to be completely elided : *gun-ây* < *gunam-ây* (good resulted) ;

The change of *-m* > *-n* before vowels following (as in Tamil *nilam*, *nilan-um*, etc.) is not met with commonly in the texts; but *kadan* for *kadam* (debt, etc.) is heard and used often. In the "vulgar" colloquial, one also hears *samayan-ây* (it is time) for *samayam-ây*, *taran-illa* (no opportunity) for *taram-illa*; these forms, however, are never used in "correct" speech.

²³ I have also discussed in that paper the changes undergone by *-du*, *-ru* of noun-bases in inflexions and in word-compounds. With these changes are also associated the phenomena connected with the final sound-groups *-ng*, *-ñj*, *-ñd-*, *-nd-*, *nd'r-* in instances like the following when they form compounds with other words: *kurakkui-p-padai* (army of monkeys) [*kurañgu*]; *naccui-p-pagaimai* (the dangerous enmity of poison) [*noñju*]; *pâppuu-k-kodi*; *maruttuu-p-pai*.

3. Similarly, the Tam. changes affecting *-d-* and *-r-* of *nadu*, *niḍu*, *kaḍu*, *kuru*, *ciru* are found in Mal. also [HAP].

The changes affecting *-r-* and *-d-* of noun-bases like *āṛə*, *kāḍə* in their “oblique” case-forms (and in certain word-compounds) are also met with in Mal. [HAP]. L, III, 6 states the rule. The rule is not absolute and rigid in the Mal. colloquial as there are instances like *cōṛ-il* (in the boiled rice), *kāḍ-ind'e* (of the forest) occasionally cropping up in the speech of the masses.

Kannada

1. Final *l*, *l*, *n*, *ṇ*, *y* of originally monosyllabic bases and forms of Kann. are lengthened before vowels following, subject to certain exceptions which in a few instances have parallels in Tamil.

[Bhb, 35; Śmd, 69; and Śś, 53.]

As in Tamil, the change is always met with in “casal” terminations and in word-compounds; but there are a number of exceptions in verb-bases, expressly provided for in the Kannada grammars:

(a) These consonants are not doubled when followed by the Infinitive participle termination *-e*

kol-e (killing)

une (eating)

ene (saying)

One may compare with these forms Tamil instances of Infinitive participles like *kol-a* (taking on), *en-a* (saying) appearing in old texts. In Tamil, however, the alternative forms with lengthened consonants are also met with.

(b) *l*, *l*, *n*, *ṇ* of verb-bases is *not* lengthened before the other Infinitive termination *-al*:

unal (eating)

enal (saying)

tinal (eating)

Here again, Tamil supplies parallels from the old texts, though the rule is never absolute in this speech: cf. instances given above.

(c) Before the Kann. *krt* suffixes *-uttum* [Pr. Tense ending of Kann.], *-isu* [causative affix], *l*, *l̄*, *n*, *ṇ* are not doubled. Śś, 62. Modern Kann., however, shows forms like *kol-l-isu*, *kol-l̄-utâne*.

(d) The rules with regard to verb-bases with *-y*, are the following :

(i) *-y* of *ney-* (to weave), *uy-* (to carry off), *suy-* (to breathe), *bay-* (to place) is always doubled before verbal suffixes except the present tense suffix *-utum*, *-uttum* ;

(ii) *-y* of other verb-bases is only optionally doubled before *-al*, though before other suffixes (except *-utum*, *-uttum* and *-e*) it is always doubled.

Śś further states that in the prohibition *poyyal bêda* (uttering lies is not required), *y* appears doubled even before *-al*.

(e) All sounds concerned here appear doubled in the negative tense-forms and in the negative participles with *-ade* :

unn-a-m (we do not eat)

koll-en (I do not, shall not take)

tinnade (without eating)

geyyade (without doing)

(f) In mediæval Kannada, when the supporting vowels came to be introduced after *l*, *l̄*, *n*, *ṇ*, with doubling of these sounds in monosyllabics with short vowels, the practice of introducing a supporting vowel after some of these forms without the characteristic doubling of *l*, *l̄*, etc., appears to have cropped in compounds like the following : *kanu-guruhu* (mark for the eye, knowledge acquired by the eye), *kanu-dani-* (for the eye to be satisfied), *kalu-kutiga* (stone-cutter), *pulu-b(v)atte* (grassy path), *bilu-dani* (sound of bow), *mulu-gatti* (knife for cutting thorns).

cf. similar forms in Tel. *kalu-dôy* (pair of eyes) beside *kan dôy*, *mulu-gampa* (bush of thorns), *kalu trâgi*, etc.

While in Kannada such forms occur only in compounds, Tel. appears to have used *kanu*, *mulu* as independent forms before consonants in sequences.

2. The treatment of Kann. final *-m* before vowels following, is regulated by the following rules :

(a) *-m* of "neuter" nouns optionally changes to *-n* before vowels—Ss—*nelan-idu* (this is the land), *maran-irdudu* (there was the tree)—cf. Tam. *nilan-um*, *kadan-irukkum*, etc., mentioned above.

(b) *-m* of some Skt. loans may change to *-v* before vowels : *dôsavidu* (this is an evil).

(c) The so-called *-m* of the Accusative ending *-am* changes to *-n* before vowels : *arasugalan-anibarumam geldam* (he overcame all the kings).

(d) Other types with original *-m* are retained before vowels.

3. The changes affecting the "oblique" bases of Tamil and Mal. noun-bases with *-diu* and *-ru* are absent in Kannada; but the changes relating to *kadu*, *nađu*, *niđu*, *kuru* (and *kiřu* also in Kann.) are expressly referred to in Kannada grammars [Bhbh, 147, 148, 150; Šmd]. For a discussion of this topic, see IAP.

Telugu

1. (a) Final *-l*, *n*, (*l*), (*n*) of original monosyllabic bases with short radical vowels had even in the pre-literary stage become lengthened in noun-bases in Telugu, so much so that the nominative forms of such words appear in Telugu, with the lengthened consonant and the enunciative *-u*: *kannu* (eye), *kallu* (stone), *mullu* (thorn).

The principle underlying the lengthening of the consonants here [pre-literary Telugu *l* and *n* had already changed to *l* and *n*] is the same as in the cases referred to in Tamil, Mal. and Kannada. The principle is also manifested in word-compounds like *min-n-ēru* (*âkâsa-ganga*) and in sequences with the *samucaya* *-un* and the particles *-ē*, *-ō*.

Forms like *mulu*, *kalu*, *kanu* appear in compounds in Tel.; cf. similar forms in Kann. described above.

(b) So far as the inflexional terminations are concerned, certain unique changes [consequent on the use of *aupavibhakti's*] had already affected the bases of this type (i.e., with the

consonants *l*, *n*, *y*); and therefore the consonantal lengthening is not met with in the Tel. "oblique" terminations of these noun-bases.

(c) In verb-forms, the lengthening is never met with :

an-an, the Inf. participle of *an-* 'to say'.

can-un, the Future third person of *can-* 'to go'.

tin-ed- [Aoristic stem] of *tin-*.

an-uc-un [the Present stem].

an-ud- [Aoristic stem].

2. The change of *-m* to *-n* before vowels is pre-literary in instances like the following :

mrânu (tree)—cf. Tam., Mal. *maram*.

kolanu (tank)—cf. Tam., Mal. *kulam*.

un, *unun* (and)—cf. Tam., Mal. *-um*.

[cf. a Tel. inscriptional *gudl-um* (and the temples) in which *-um* appears as the *samuccaya*, vide Bhârati, 1929.]

3. What is called *druta duritwa sandhi* in Telugu occurs in old texts sometimes. The *druta n* is here geminated before vowels: *arcucun-n-uparimitanisthâ* [AS, p. 141].

4. The changes affecting *-d-* and *-r-* of old bases like *kur(u)*, *êr(u)*, *kâdu* are comparable to those operating in the other south Dravidian speeches [HAP].

Tulu

This speech (the past history of which is not traceable except comparatively and circumstantially) shows only nominative bases like *kallu* (stone), *kanñu* (eye), *mullu* (thorn), *ponnu* (gold), etc., with doubling of *l*, *l*, *n*, *n*. *y* and *m* appear only as finals, as in colloquial Tamil.

Some instances with *-ll-* like *villu* (bow), *pallu* (tooth) have sub-dialectal variants *viru* (bow), *paru* (tooth, teeth). Possibly, one may compare with these the simplified *kalu* (toddy) of Telugu, and a similar *mulu* (thorn), etc. of Kannada.

In inflexions and word-compounds, *l*, *l*, *n*, *n* and *y* of originally monosyllabic words with short vowels and consonants appear geminated before vowels, as in other south Dravidian speeches: *manñ-uppu* (sea-salt), *kay-y-âl* (attendant), *kanñ-uðu*,

(at the eye), etc. Absence of "doubling" of the sounds concerned is characteristic of the following verb-forms: Future negatives like, *tin-a-y-a* (I shall not eat), *tin-and-* (without eating), *tin-aduu* (do not thou eat); and Imperatives like *tin-odu* (let him, her, it, them eat).

Category 1.—There is general agreement among the chief south Dravidian speeches in this category, particularly in (i), (ii) and (v). In (iii), Telugu alone has forms with ungeminated sounds in the aorist tense. In (iv), the Telugu instances show entire absence of doubling of the sounds concerned, while Malayālam evidences gemination of the sounds everywhere in this particular group (iv). Early literary Tamil shows forms with and without doubling, while the rules of Kannada prohibit doubling of *l*, *l*, *n* and *n* completely and the gemination of *y* partially or optionally. On the whole, so far as the group (iv) regarding verb-forms other than the finite verbs is concerned, the absence of doubling perhaps denotes a more ancient state (as represented in early literary Tamil, Kannada and Telugu) while the universal gemination of sounds in Mal. (which is an off-shoot of the west coast dialect of mediæval Tamil) stands for a later literary stage corresponding to colloquial Tamil in which there is gemination everywhere.

The phonetic *rationale* of the gemination of the sounds here has to be traced to two factors: (i) the structure of the words in which these sounds occur; they are monosyllabic and have short vowels; (ii) the presence of vowels immediately after *l*, *l*, etc. (in inflexions, conjugations or word-compounds); and (iii) the character of the sounds themselves: *l*, *l*, *n*, *n*, *y*, *m* which can stand without enunciations in final positions.

Category 2.—Early Tamil and Kannada show agreement in the change of *-m* > *-n* of nouns before vowels following Mal. has only very few instances of this type in literature. The change of *-m* > *-n* (before vowels following) appears to underlie the constitution of Tel. words like *mrānu* (tree), *kolanu* (tank); besides the Tel. *samuccaya -un* is also traceable to an older *-um*.

<p>1. Final <i>-l</i>, <i>-l̄</i>, <i>-n</i>, <i>-n̄</i>, <i>-y</i> (and <i>-m</i>) of monosyllabic words with short vowels, are doubled in</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (i) inflectional endings (ii) compounds and intensive sequences (iii) Conjugated finite verbs (iv) Other verb-forms (v) Non-nominal bases in the nominative with enunciative and with doubling of <i>l</i>, <i>l̄</i>, <i>n</i>, <i>n̄</i>— <p>2. Treatment of <i>-m</i> (before vowels) in cases other than those mentioned in 1.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (i) <i>-m</i> elided 	<p><i>Kap-n̄-in</i>, etc.</p> <p><i>Pon-n-arásan</i>, etc.</p> <p><i>Kol-l̄-um</i>, <i>Kol-l̄-âdu</i>, etc.</p> <p>Optional doubling in Inf. Participle with <i>-a</i>, and in Infinitives with <i>-al</i></p> <p>Colloquial</p>	<p><i>Kan-ñ-in</i>, etc.</p> <p><i>Pon-n-arásan</i>, etc.</p> <p><i>Kol-l̄-um</i>, <i>Kol-l̄-â</i>, etc.</p> <p>No doubling</p> <p>No doubling in Inf. participles with <i>-e</i>, optional</p> <p>Colloquial; approved by L. for the literary dialect also</p>	<p><i>Kan-ñ-ol</i>, etc.</p> <p><i>min-n-êru</i>, etc.</p> <p><i>Kol-l̄-</i></p> <p>No doubling</p> <p>No doubling</p> <p>From late old Kann. downwards</p>	<p>Enunciative <i>-u</i> and gemination of sounds concerned</p>
	<p><i>Kan-ñ-in</i>, etc.</p> <p><i>Pon-n-arásan</i>, etc.</p> <p><i>Kol-l̄-um</i>, <i>Kol-l̄-â</i>, etc.</p> <p>No doubling</p> <p>No doubling</p> <p>Colloquial; approved by L. for the literary dialect also</p>	<p><i>Kan-ñ-ol</i>, etc.</p> <p><i>min-n-êru</i>, etc.</p> <p><i>Kol-l̄-</i></p> <p>No doubling</p> <p>No doubling</p> <p>From late old Kann. downwards</p>	<p><i>Kan-ñ-ol</i>, etc.</p> <p><i>min-n-êru</i>, etc.</p> <p><i>Kol-l̄-</i></p> <p>No doubling</p> <p>No doubling</p> <p>Colloquial; approved by L. for the literary dialect also</p>	<p>Enunciative <i>-u</i> and gemination of sounds concerned</p>
	<p><i>Kan-ñ-in</i>, etc.</p> <p><i>Pon-n-arásan</i>, etc.</p> <p><i>Kol-l̄-um</i>, <i>Kol-l̄-â</i>, etc.</p> <p>No doubling</p> <p>No doubling in Inf. participles with <i>-e</i>, optional</p> <p>Colloquial</p>	<p><i>Kan-ñ-ol</i>, etc.</p> <p><i>min-n-êru</i>, etc.</p> <p><i>Kol-l̄-</i></p> <p>No doubling</p> <p>No doubling</p> <p>Colloquial</p>	<p><i>Kan-ñ-ol</i>, etc.</p> <p><i>min-n-êru</i>, etc.</p> <p><i>Kol-l̄-</i></p> <p>No doubling</p> <p>No doubling</p> <p>Colloquial</p>	<p>Enunciative <i>-u</i> and gemination of sounds concerned</p>
	<p><i>Kan-ñ-in</i>, etc.</p> <p><i>Pon-n-arásan</i>, etc.</p> <p><i>Kol-l̄-um</i>, <i>Kol-l̄-â</i>, etc.</p> <p>No doubling</p> <p>No doubling in Inf. participles with <i>-e</i>, optional</p> <p>In "casal" compounds</p>	<p><i>Kan-ñ-ol</i>, etc.</p> <p><i>min-n-êru</i>, etc.</p> <p><i>Kol-l̄-</i></p> <p>No doubling</p> <p>No doubling</p> <p>"Casal" compounds</p>	<p><i>Kan-ñ-ol</i>, etc.</p> <p><i>min-n-êru</i>, etc.</p> <p><i>Kol-l̄-</i></p> <p>No doubling</p> <p>No doubling</p> <p>"Casal" compounds</p>	<p>Enunciative <i>-u</i> and gemination of sounds concerned</p>
	<p><i>Kan-ñ-in</i>, etc.</p> <p><i>Pon-n-arásan</i>, etc.</p> <p><i>Kol-l̄-um</i>, <i>Kol-l̄-â</i>, etc.</p> <p>No doubling</p> <p>No doubling</p> <p>In "casal" compounds</p>	<p><i>Kan-ñ-ol</i>, etc.</p> <p><i>min-n-êru</i>, etc.</p> <p><i>Kol-l̄-</i></p> <p>No doubling</p> <p>No doubling</p> <p>In "casal" compounds</p>	<p><i>Kan-ñ-ol</i>, etc.</p> <p><i>min-n-êru</i>, etc.</p> <p><i>Kol-l̄-</i></p> <p>No doubling</p> <p>No doubling</p> <p>In "casal" compounds</p>	<p>Enunciative <i>-u</i> and gemination of sounds concerned</p>

(ii) -m > -n before vowels	Optional in a number of "neuter" nouns Cf. Mal. <i>Kadam</i> , <i>Kadan</i> (debt) the latter generally before vowels; 'vulgar coll.' <i>samayan</i> (time) for 'the loan Skt. loan <i>samayam</i>	Optional in a number of "neuter" nouns -n instead of -m in a number of nouns; -n < -m in the <i>samuccaya</i> ; -n < -m in the aoristic 3rd person ending
(iii) -m > -v	Colloquial Cf. <i>dōsariđu</i>	Colloquial; in the literary dialect, instances like <i>marav-um</i> (and the tree) before the <i>samućaya -um</i>

FOUNDATION OF THE VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE AND VIDYĀRĀNYA'S PART THEREIN

Prefatory Note

I WAS invited to deliver a course of five special lectures, on the subject of the foundation of the Empire of Vijayanagara and the part played by the celebrated sage Vidyārānya in the foundation of that great Hindu Empire of the South, by the authorities of the Annāmalai University in October 1930. On my return after completing these obligations, I read a paper on Vidyārānya and Vijayanagara before the Mythic Society of Bangalore. More than a year later, the authorities of the Mysore University desired me to give the substance of these lectures in a popular form as extension lectures under their auspices at Mysore and Bangalore.

Several publications in book-form and articles in historical periodicals have appeared since my address to the students at Annāmalainagar. In the pages that follow, I have retained the original form of the lectures as delivered under the auspices of the Annāmalai University but I have endeavoured to embody and incorporate, as far as possible, the additional materials and criticisms that have become available during the past few years.

I am obliged to the authorities of the Annāmalai University for their kindly granting me permission to print the lectures delivered under their auspices.

S. SRIKANTAYA.

Introductory

The subject of the early history of the Vijayanagara Empire continues to be of entrancing interest to this day. The foundation of Vijayanagara in 1336 A.D., during the reign of Edward III in England, changed the political fortunes of Southern India for roughly two centuries. The lessons of the experience of Hindu princes in the North were not lost upon the peoples and rulers of the kingdoms in Southern India where warlike feeling largely existed, and a gigantic effort was made to stem the tide of Muhammadan invasion and conquest of the South. Harihara's Empire grew to vast dimensions in the time of his successors and, in their day, Vijayanagara Emperors ruled over a country far larger than Austria and their capital was incomparable for wealth and magnificence. The trade of the Empire was sought after and coveted by the leading nations of the world and there are accounts left by ambassadors and travellers to the Court of Vijayanagara which are of surpassing interest.

The origin of this Empire was first dealt with by the ever-indefatigable Sewell, father of Vijayanagara history. The work has been taken up by several other distinguished scholars and there has been a very large output of literature on this fascinating subject. The number of available inscriptions is vast, particularly in the Mysore State. The literature of the period contains a mine of valuable information and of the standard works on the history of the Vijayanagara Empire, the latest are the valuable compilations by Rev. Father Heras of the St. Xavier's College, Bombay.

Tradition and authentic history give varying versions regarding the origin of the Empire of Vijayanagara and they will be considered in detail in the course of these lectures. It is generally believed that Mādhavācārya, the celebrated scholar and pontiff of the Sringeri Maṭha, was responsible for the foundation of this Empire. Another school regards Harihara and Bukka as feudatories of the last great Hoysala, Ballāla III. They, with the help of the Hoysala Emperor

and of other rulers in the South, established an empire. Some consider them as Muhammadan vassals sent to subjugate Ballāla III and conquer the Karnātaka country and as later on usurping authority taking advantage of the disturbed conditions in the locality. There are yet others according to whom, Harihara and Bukka were guards in the treasury of Pratāpa Rudra Deva of Wārangal and after his death at the hands of the Muhammadans, fled and ultimately founded a kingdom. During recent years, there have been still others who consider Anegondi and Kampili chiefs as having provided the future rulers of the Vijayanagara Empire.

The origin of Vijayanagara may not have been a miracle. It may have been the result of a supreme Hindu effort, in order to protect their religion, their *dharma* and their country and to provide a bulwark against the devastating Muhammadan hordes from the north of India. The Hoysala ruler Ballāla III may have established the Empire for the purpose and carried on his campaigns against the Muhammadans till he fell fighting in 1342 A.D. Princes of other ruling dynasties in the South may have helped him in this endeavour. The perturbed condition of the Muhammadan Empire in the North may have contributed towards the successes achieved in the South against the Muhammadan armies. The Shia Muhammadans in the Deccan may have proved troublesome to the Sultanate at Delhi and assisted the Hindu Rajas in the South. The rising sons of Sangama may have continued the work of consolidating Hindu authority and of preserving Hindu religion and *dharma* south of the Vindhya, enabled thereto by the towering personality of the scholar-statesman Mādhavācārya, known to the world as Vidyāranya Śripāda of the Advaita Matha at Sringeri. The latter may have been the cementing factor amongst the several kings in the South and the people of varied faiths.

How far the Vijayanagara dynasty, whether of Kannada or Telugu origin, was an indigenous and independent one, owing no fealty to any one, or as subordinate to any other ruler, be he the Hoysala Ballāla of Dorasamudra, the Kākatiya Pratāpa

Rudra Deva of Wārangal, Rāmadeva of Deogiri or Daulatabad, Raja of Anegondi, Kampila or Kumāra Rāmanātha of Kummatadurga, requires investigation. We have, further, to find out if Harihara and Bukka had been sent by the Sultan of Delhi against Ballāla III and whether, on his defeat, they usurped the country for themselves. And finally, what, if any, part did Vidyāranya or the Gurus of the Sringeri Maṭha play in assisting in the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire ?

I propose, in the course of these lectures, to give an account of the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire with reference to the above topics. The consideration of the part played by Mādhavācārya necessarily involves a detailed discussion of the various traditions, chronicles and inscriptions which mention his connection with the origin of the Sangama dynasty. A number of inscriptions is said to be doubtful and a few spurious by several scholars and Rev. Fr. Heras goes farther than most others in this respect. In his view, practically all the inscriptions relating to the Vidyāranya tradition or to the connection of Vidyāranya with Harihara and Bukka in any Imperial or political undertaking are spurious and must at all events be looked upon with suspicion. Assuming the spurious nature of several of these inscriptions, it will still have to be considered whether the tradition contained in them is also false. Would the Gurus of Sringeri Maṭha be responsible for these forgeries ? How far can we condemn grants and inscriptions of such public institutions ? Did the ascetic dwellers in the Maṭha at Sringeri take advantage of the situation arising out of the confusion in the Empire during the early years of the second Vijayanagara dynasty and augment their position and importance ? The Gurus of Sringeri have all along been known for their piety, religion and *dharma*; their scholarship and learning are unrivalled. Did one of them, Rāmacandra Bhārati Svāmi, or others under his inspiration, get up false traditions, fabricate documents embodying these false traditions, in order to become Rāja Gurus and improve their position as *Karnātaka Simhāsana Pratisthāpanācāryas* ? Are the subsequent traditions, literary references and

inscriptional accounts connecting Vidyāraṇya with the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire and describing the capital of the Empire as Vidyānagara traceable to the "false decretals" of this Sringeri "Nicholas"? I have gone through the entire range of available literature, inscriptional and otherwise, and I must admit I have not been able to find any justification for condemning the traditions as having been forged by the ascetic dwellers in Sringeri or elsewhere. Whether the Vidyāraṇya tradition be founded on fact or be a pure myth, it must have been there from the beginning. A sweeping statement attacking the Jagadgurus of Sringeri as devoid of all notions of honesty, truth, religion or *dharma* and as descending to fabricate records, if only to gain a profit thereby, provided others are not harmed by it, is entirely unmerited.

The existence of two Mādhabas in the early Vijayanagara history, one a disciple of Vidyāśankara and another belonging to the Kriyāśakti school of religious thought, both contemporaries, statesmen and learned scholars, has led to considerable confusion in identifying their works or achievements. This aspect of the question will also be considered to some extent.

Muhammadan Conquest of Northern India

NORTH INDIA BEFORE MUHAMMADAN RULE

To understand and appreciate the significance of the origin and foundation of the Empire of Vijayanagara in the south of India in its proper perspective, a short retrospect concerning the growth of Islam and the expansion of the Muhammadan power in Northern India is necessary. Both Northern and Peninsular India were well known for their trade; and intercourse between Africa, Europe and India both on sea and by overland routes was great. There is evidence that in the ninth century of the Christian era, even regarding those parts of India which the Greeks and the Romans were accustomed to visit, the Arabians had acquired more perfect information.¹ According to them, there was then a Muhammadan sovereignty, which was confined to the Arab Peninsula at the time of the Prophet's death in 632 A.D., spread to Syria and Egypt in half-a-dozen years thereafter, and in a short time the Persian Empire as far as Herat had become a part of the growing Empire of the Arabs. Before the close of the century, Northern Africa had been conquered by Muhammadan arms and with the fall of Spain in 713 A.D., the Muhammadans had been able to penetrate into the very heart of France whence they were turned back by Charles Martel in 732 A.D. There was, however, no echo of this remarkable insurgence in the India of the time and Hiuen Tsang does not allude to these events in his note on the political conditions. On the eve of the Arab invasion of India, its western borderland was dominated by the powerful Hindu Kingdoms of Kāpiśa in the North, Sindhu in the South and Tsao-kulā or Tsao-li between them. Sind adjoined Bannu which formed the southernmost part of the territories of the Kāpiśi ruler. Naturally therefore, the first shock of the Muhammadan invasions was equally felt at Kabul, Zabul and Sind. Half a century of unceasing effort upon Kabul and its neighbouring territory accomplished a nominal suzerainty imposed

¹ William Robertson, *A Historical Disquisition of India*, pp. 103-4.

by an occasional raid and levy of some tributes. Kabul remained long unconquered. Relations of the Arab with Sind led to more prolonged wars and more permanent results. Desertion in the army, constant strife with neighbouring kingdoms and the danger to the Brahmanical States from powerful Buddhist monks who held sway over districts were also among the causes.

Thus the Arab raids against the coast of India which commenced about 637 A.D., after alternating successes and failures, attained one successful result by the conquest of the Makran coast in the latter part of the 7th century. During the Caliphate of Umar II, the rulers of Sind like Jayasimha and others adopted the religion of the Prophet and assumed Arab names, retaining the thrones and enjoying the privileges and obligations of the Muslims. When later he apostatised, a battle followed and he was captured. The Muhammadan Governor of Sind extended his campaigns into the interior and several kingdoms on the right bank of the Indus came under his rule. The Nausari Plates (Gujrat) of the Cālukya Pulikeśi, 738 A.D., refer to the Arab invasions and the defeat of the several kingdoms—Saindhavas, Kachchellas, Saurāṣtras, Charotakas, Mauryas and Gūrjaras. Then came a lull to the Muhammadan arms, due perhaps to the combined efforts of the Indian chiefs including the Pratihāra ruler Nāgabhaṭṭa and the Cālukyan Pulikeśi and to a period of confusion in the Islamic State.

Three centuries of persistent effort, wonderful organisation of the Arabs, their superior knowledge and statesmanship, their method of warfare and their determination to carry on Islamic culture to distant lands achieved remarkable results throughout the world. Apart from any question of military superiority of the Arab in his conquest of India, sufficient has been said how it was not possible for the Hindu to keep off the invader for a time. Arab penetration further into the interior was checked by Nāgabhaṭṭa and Pulikeśi. Iswari Prasad regards the Arab episode in India as a triumph without results, an unremunerative appanage which left only a few families and

settlements as a memorial of their conquest in India. For, "the absence of that bond of sympathy between the conqueror and the conquered, which arises from mutual confidence was a conspicuous feature of the Arab administration of India."

The next Muhammadan invaders of India were of a different type. In ferocity of temper and iconoclastic zeal the Turks were in strong contrast with the cultured Arabs and Persians. On the Malabar Coast there was an empire ruled by kings whose authority was paramount over that of every other power in India and, as we know, the East continued to be looked forward to for the supply of the luxuries which the West most needed, and this state of things lasted till the decay and disruption of the Vijayanagara Empire itself. The Genoese and the Florentines and, later, the Portuguese and the Dutch and, lastly, the French and the English were the competitors for capturing the trade of the East.

First Muhammadan Invaders

Long anterior to the introduction of the religion of the Prophet Muhammad into India, the trade between Arabia and Western India was extensive. The spirit of Islam breathed a new atmosphere into the Arabs who in a century managed to spread themselves far and wide throughout the world. The first country in India to fall into the hands of the Muhammadans was Sind.² Early in the eighth century, Muhammad, son of Kāsim, conquered Sind and firmly established the political predominance of Islam in that province. His rule over Sind, however, appears to have been just and sympathetic, under which the Hindus were allowed full religious freedom.³ A river formerly separated Sind from India and to the east of that river was the Gūrjara Kingdom of Bhinmal, united with Kanauj from the beginning of the ninth century. There were chronic hostilities between the neighbours, belonging to

² V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, pp. 430-31.

³ See Elliot, *His. of Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 185-86 *et seq.* Stanley Lanepoole, *Mediæval India*, pp. 10-12. Iswari Prasad, *His. of Ind.*, p. 44.

the two different faiths. During the same period, however, down below on the west coast of India, which in the time of Sulaiman was flooded by Arab merchants, relations between the Muhammadans and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were cordial ; the Muhammadan was paying tribute to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king.^{3a} One result, however, was the spread of the sciences of the East westwards, helped by the sword of Islam and the imperial instincts of the Arab.

In the North, Islam brought with it all the enthusiasm of a new religion⁴ with a simple and awe-inspiring system and all the energy of a fiercer race compared with the mild Hindu. The character of the early Muhammadan invasions into India was associated with a spirit of plunder, like the Mongol raids later on under Muhammadan rule. There was no idea of conquest or occupation of territory ; perhaps because by usurpation it was not possible—and it was known—to keep disorderly elements always under control. As Prof. Ratnaswamy says⁵— ‘Nomads were the Muhammadan conquerors of India and nomadic was their rule. The impress of nomadism was felt in their government, their social life, their attitude to the country they invaded, and their relations with the people they brought under their subjection. It coloured their public and private life, prompted some of their most characteristic actions and policies, and determined the course of their career in the country..... It is the key to their history, because it was the spirit of their civilisation.’ To the Turk and Afghan rulers in India, war was the supreme happiness of life. Perhaps, that was the spirit of the times throughout the world.

The Samani dynasty founded the house of Ghaznī which plays a prominent part in Indian history. Sabuktigin was

^{3a} *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. II, Part 2, Chap. XI, p. 763. Muhammadan rulers of Sind were friends with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas who were the enemies of the Gūrjara Kings of Bhinmal.

⁴ *Historians' History of the World*, Vol. XXII, p. 21.

⁵ *Q. J. M. S.*, Vol. IX, pp. 190–91. *Mysore University Magazine*, Vol. V, p. 223.

the Sultan of Ghazni, having married his master's daughter and been constituted as heir by him for the Ghazni province. The neighbourhood of a Muhammadan State alarmed the Hindus on the left bank of the Indus river. They had somewhat recovered themselves for some three centuries from the fears of the Arab invasions but could not forget the cruelty and oppression of their forefathers under the Arab yoke. Without waiting for an attack from Sabuktigin, the Hindu rulers formed a confederacy of States under the bold lead of Raja Jaipāl of Lahore and marched against him. Sabuktigin and his son, the famous Sultan Mahmūd met the combined Hindu forces on the field, and there were several skirmishes, followed by wind and rain and hailstorms. There was terrible disaster from which the Muhammadan armies recovered but the less hardy Hindus could not. Jaipāl sued for peace undertaking to pay tribute and presents. However, he did not keep to it but ill-treated the messengers who came to recover the same. This led to another war in the course of which the kings of Delhi, Ajmir, Kālanjar and Kanauj with several others fought on the side of Jaipāl. The Hindu armies 'appeared like the boundless ocean and in number like the ants and locusts in the wilderness'; but Sabuktigin defeated them all, got immense booty and plunder and was acknowledged king of the territory west of the upper Indus river. He died in 997 A.D. after a rule characterised by prudence, equity and moderation. Sultan Mahmūd succeeded him.⁶ In 1001 A.D. Jaipāl was defeated and he ascended the funeral pyre. Fifteen chiefs were taken prisoners. In 1004 A.D., the Hindus again did not pay tribute and Mahmūd advanced through Multan to Bhatea City of Bejay Ray. Muhammadan prowess prevailed and the Raja rushed on his own sword to escape imprisonment.⁷ In 1005 A.D. Mahmūd went to chastise Abul Fateh Lodi, chief of Multan, who had rebelled and joined Ānangapāl, son

⁶ Beveridge, *Comprehensive History of India* (1872), Vol. I, p. 44.
V. A. S., *Ox. His. of Ind.*, p. 190.

⁷ Bev., I, p. 44; V. A. S., *Ox. His. of Ind.*, p. 191.

of Jaipāl. They were defeated at the battle of Peshawar and Ānangapāl fled for refuge to Kashmir.⁸ Mahmūd returned to meet the Tartar hordes under Prince Elik Khan but came again to fight the formidable coalition of Hindu rulers arranged by Ānangapāl in the meantime. Their united forces brought into the Punjab a larger army than had ever been there before and new auxiliaries were daily joining. Hindu women sold their jewels to assist in the holy war. Ānangapāl was defeated and Mahmūd returned rich with the spoils of India.⁹ By 1023 A.D. a Muhammadan garrison was for the first time permanently stationed beyond the Indus.¹⁰

Thus, we find the Hindu rulers who up to the close of the tenth century were free to do what they liked within their own territories, exempt from foreign invasion or control of any paramount authority, pitched against an aggressive Muhammadan power, alien in religion, ideas, social customs and methods of warfare which was a greatly disturbing element in the politics of India.¹¹

Sultan Mahmūd sacked Mathura,¹² the birth-place of Krishna and in the course of another expedition, the sixteenth, Somnāth,¹³ known to be stored with incalculable riches. In the course of the fight, over 50,000 are said to have been slain. As a result of Sultan Mahmūd's expeditions, most of the Punjab was annexed to the Ghazni Sultanate.¹⁴ According to his apologists, Sultan Mahmūd's object was not conquest, but plunder: his exploits were not directed by religious zeal but secular motives. His rich store of captives and treasure were a reward of Muslim piety of an essentially Central Asian prince. Though Hindu temples were desecrated and their

⁸ Bev., I, p. 45.

⁹ Bev., I, p. 46.

¹⁰ Bev., I, p. 48.

¹¹ V. A. S., *Ox. His. of Ind.*, p. 190.

¹² V. A. S., *Ox. His. of Ind.*, p. 192.

¹³ *Ib.*, p. 193.

¹⁴ *Ib.*, p. 193.

treasures removed, yet Hindus continued to hold positions of trust and responsibility under him and were prosperous.

Passing on from the expeditions of Malmūd of Ghazni, which left no enduring impressions and results and after which the Hindu kings continued as disunited as ever, now that the fear of foreign invasion had passed away, to the next stage of conflict in North Indian history, we find the dynasty of Ghor play an important part in it. In this struggle, the Rajputs particularly distinguished themselves. The Hindu struggle for independence began again about 1179 A.D., under the lead of the Raja of Delhi and finally ended, after early successes, in the capture of the Hindu princes and their territories.¹⁵ The onward march of the Muhammadan received some checks, here and there as in Gujrat in 1178 A.D.¹⁶ But when the basin of the Indus was secured, further advances into the fertile plains of India became comparatively easy of accomplishment. The idolators were considered fit to be sent to hell according to the simple creed of the invaders and the tempting riches there were their legitimate prey.

The magnitude of the danger induced the Hindu rulers to leave aside their quarrels for the time and to organise a powerful expedition as their forefathers had previously done. In 1192 A.D. Prithvirāj led the resistance but was defeated, captured and executed.¹⁷ This was the fate of the most popular hero of Hindustan whose exploits form the subject-matter of local epics. In 1194 A.D., Raja Jaichand essayed to stem the torrent of Muhammadan ruthlessness and he too was among the slain.¹⁸ Delhi, Benares and other places also soon fell. This and almost the whole of the next century witnessed the conquest of several of the northern Hindu kingdoms of India, and any respite they had was owing either to rebellion here and there, quarrel for succession or the threatened invasions of the Mongol hordes from the north-western border, the most vulnerable part of the

¹⁵ Bev., I, p. 58.

¹⁶ V. A. S., *Ox. His. of Ind.*, p. 218.

¹⁷ Bev., I, p. 60.

¹⁸ V. A. S., *Ox. His. of Ind.*, p. 195

Indian Empire. By 1236 A.D. the subjection of Hindustan was more or less complete, Muhammad Ghori may have been less fanatical and more politic than Sultan Mahmūd; the people may have been under wise rule; but yet tribute and military service were exacted as the price of toleration. The Rajas and their subjects could not bear to see the Hindu kingdoms crumble away before their eyes, one after another.

The story of the Hindu defeat in Northern India has its lessons to tell. Iron discipline and unity of command are two essential factors for the success of an army in the field. The last great occasion when it was realised was in the Great War in Europe a few years ago. V. A. Smith says "No Hindu general in any age was willing to profit by experience and learn the lesson taught by Alexander's operations long ago. Time after time enormous hosts, formed of the contingents supplied by innumerable Rajas, and supported by the delusive strength of elephants, were easily routed by quite small bodies of vigorous western soldiers, fighting under one undivided command, and trusting chiefly to well-armed mobile cavalry. Alexander, Muhammad of Ghor, Babar, Ahamad Shah Durani, and other capable commanders, all used essentially the same tactics by which they secured decisive victories against Hindu armies of incredible numbers." The Hindu military system "broke down when pitted against the onslaughts of hardy casteless horsemen from the west," and "the Hindu defenders of their country, although fully equal to their assailants in courage and contempt of death, were distinctly inferior in the art of war and, for that reason, lost their independence." The same story marked the decay of the Vijayanagara Empire. It is an important point to consider how far a national militia raised in India on a non-caste basis will provide for its defence in the Indian Federation of the future.

SOUTH INDIA BEFORE THE MUHAMMADAN INVASIONS

The current of events in Northern India ordinarily pursued its own course, unmindful of the trend of events in the far South, for generations. True, an Asoka or a Harṣa expanded

his dominions across the Vindhya range but that was only once in a way. As regards the south, the kingdoms of the Deccan generally were confined to the frontiers of the Narmada and the Krishna, though occasionally there were rulers who made excursions into the rich plains of Āryāvarta and reached the banks of the Ganges. Hence, we find only internecine strife amongst the rulers of the south in their isolation. Of course, from time immemorial extensive foreign trade was carried on with Peninsular India by countries of Europe and Africa and of the Far East.

From the seventh century A.D. the Pallavas of Kāñcī overshadowed for several decades the ancient Pāṇḍya, Cola and Cera kingdoms.¹⁹ The royal line of the Kadambas held sway in the south-west for several decades. The Kadambas indeed do not disappear from history till the rise of Vijayanagara in the fourteenth century and it is conjectured they may have been related to the Vijayanagara rulers.²⁰ The Gangas were a powerful dynasty of rulers in Mysore. They were succeeded by the Hoysalas. In the eleventh century, the Colas became paramount in the south. The Rāṣtrakūṭas and the Cālukyas after varying vicissitudes silently disappeared from history. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, we find the Hoysala Empire predominant in the south of India. The Yādavas of Deogiri and the Kākatiyas of Wārangal rose into prominence on the break-up of the Cālukyan and Rāṣtrakūṭa kingdoms.²¹

Side by side with the political revolutions in this part of India, there was going on silently, in varying degrees, a modification in religion, manners and art. But the never-ending dynastic conflicts were not however without their effects on the development of political institutions.

Trade and intercourse was free between Northern and Southern India, and travellers in pursuit of learning were large.

¹⁹ V. A. S., *Ox. His. of Ind.*, p. 181.

²⁰ Rice, *Mysore & Coorg*, p. 28.

²¹ S. K. Aiyyengar, *Beginnings of South Indian History*, pp. 143–151.

The people in the south could not be unaware of the barbarities and cruelties inflicted upon their northern neighbours by the foreign invader and his hordes. These stories must even have circulated with much exaggeration in the Deccan. In spite of natural barriers, religious and philosophical movements of the south profoundly influenced the north and the tenets of Śankara and Rāmānuja had their supporters from the Cape to the snowy ranges of the Himālayas. Whatever diversity in blood, manners, language, customs and political allegiance, the ideals of religion as enjoined in the Śāstras tended to withstand powerful disintegrating forces amongst the Hindu people and make them unite against a common danger.

The persistent efforts of the Muhammadans to conquer all India and convert the people to the religion of the Prophet could not have been lost on the inhabitants and rulers in Southern India. Likewise, they must have known how very powerful organisations of the Hindus were, time and again, overthrown by the Muhammadan armies, with ruthless slaughter and complete plunder and ruin overtaking the people and the country in the north.

A glance at the political map of South India will reveal astonishing features and help to understand clearly the object of the Muhammadan conquerors of India at the time. An account of Indian history of this period is mainly the story of feudatories' families rising into power when the time was opportune. The assistance of neighbours was naturally forthcoming in anticipation of participating in the division of spoils, as a result of contest. This characteristic of South Indian history continued till the consolidation of British Dominion in the Deccan. With the extinction of the Rāstrakūṭas as victims of a domestic revolution, arose a scion of the Western Cālukyas and he acquired some prominence. In the fight between them and the Colas under Rājarāja—a long and bitter struggle between two powerful and well-matched powers with great organising capacity and plenty of resource—came into prominence, amongst others, the Yādavas, the Kākatiyas and the

Hoysalas already referred to. There was in the south a war of succession for the Pāndyan throne in which the Ceylonese and the Colas and their feudatories took opposite sides. These civil dissensions ruined all the parties, depleted their trésuries, depopulated their populous cities and devastated their fertile and smiling plains. On the fall of the Cola, the Pāndya and the Hoysala fought for the spoils.

Thus, at or about the time when the famous Venetian traveller Marco Polo visited the Indian coast, we find four well-marked groups of States. The Hoysalas under Vira Narasimha and the Pāndyas under Sundarapāndya were ruling the south. Rāmadeva of the Yādava Vamśa was at Deogiri and Pratāpa Rudra Deva II was governing the Kākatiya kingdom from Wārangal. We have to take into our consideration of this subject, the Rajas of Anegondi and Kampila and Kumārarāmanātha of Kummaṭadurga.

In strong contrast with the history of Northern Indian kingdoms of this period, the thirteenth century in Southern India was characterised by a high water-mark of Hindu progress in every direction. Though the country was politically divided and the kingdoms were in a state of rapid decline, offering an easy prey to the first southern invasions of Allaудin Khilji and the more systematic raids of his general Mallik Kafur afterwards, it was only for a time that the Muhammadan stood as arbiter in the south. The position of Hinduism was somewhat modernised. Literature and religion adjusted themselves to the religion of the masses and the administration was also highly organised. The reaction consequent upon Muhammadan invasions and the resulting confusion and alarm led to deep thinking and searchings of heart amongst the statesmen and the learned. A new empire was raised as a result of pooling together local efforts in different parts of the kingdoms of Southern India. When the dreaded Muhammadan invaders reached the river Krishna, the Hindus, stricken with terror, combined and gathered in haste to the new standard which alone seemed to offer them some hopes of protection. · The

decayed old states crumbled and the warlike princes of Vijayanagara became masters of the situation and established a large and united Hindu Empire, the origin of which it is our attempt to trace.

South Indian Kingdoms

The Yādavas of Deogiri were probably at first feudatory nobles of the Cālukyan kingdom. In the closing years of the twelfth century, they were rivals to the Hoysalas of Dora-samudra. Rāmacandra or Rāma Deva was the last independent sovereign of the Yādava rulers of Deogiri.

To revert to the Delhi Sultanate in far-off Delhi, in 1288 A.D. there was a revolution resulting in the death of Kaikobad and the accession of Jalaluddin.²² His acts were marked by humane sentiments. In 1291 A.D., there was a dreadful famine in Northern India and in 1292 A.D. a Moghul invasion under Holakoo Khan, grandson of Chengis Khan, was repelled. 3,000 Moghul mercenaries were entertained in the Delhi army.²³ In 1293 A.D.,²⁴ the Sultan's nephew Allaudin, formerly governor of Kurra, also became governor of Oudh. He had entertained certain schemes of conquest which he now began to pursue with a view to ultimate independence.

Rāma Deva of Deogiri was reputed to possess enormous wealth, treasured from a long time. Allaudin's object was not conquest or occupation of territory but plunder.²⁵ No Muhammadan had hitherto set his foot in Southern India and he anticipated much wealth in store for him. He was conducting an expedition in Bhilsa for the Sultan when he heard of the vast riches of the Deogiri Raja. Rāma Deva was not at headquarters and had, besides, sent a large army under his son Śankara Deva against the Hoysala king Ballāla III, who was trying to help the Pāndya.²⁶ Under these circumstances,

²² Bev., I, p. 74.

²³ Bev., I, p. 75.

²⁴ Bev., I, p. 76.

²⁵ S. K. I., *Begs. S. I. His.*, pp. 151-57.

²⁶ S. K. I., *South India & Her Muhammadan Invaders*, pp. 76-77

Allaudin after reaching the frontier of the Deccan, pressed against Deogiri. When Rāma Deva heard of this, the invader was only twelve miles from Deogiri. Allaudin defeated the king. The fortress held out for some time but ultimately capitulated. The Raja offered a huge ransom which Allaudin accepted. In the meantime, Śankara Deva who had returned, advanced and fought the Muhammadan army. The wheel of fortune had, however, turned and the Hindus were defeated, almost exhausted in the fight. The country round Ellichpur was ceded to Allaudin who returned with immense booty to the capital. A little while after, the uncle and nephew met and Jalaluddin died as a result of foul play. Allaudin succeeded him as Sultan of Delhi in 1296 A.D.²⁷ On his accession to the gadi, he tried to court popularity by various conciliatory measures. He tried for security on the frontier by driving back the Mongols, as Balban had done before him. The wealth of the Deccan was, however, too tempting to an enterprising adventurer and after the defeat of the Mongol invaders, Allaudin again turned his attention towards the south.²⁸ Gujerat which had held out for a century was reduced in 1297 A.D., and Raja Raja Karan escaped into the territories of Rāma Deva of Deogiri in the Deccan but his wives, children, elephants, baggage and treasure were captured. About the same time, another invasion of the Moghuls, under Kootloogh Khan, with 200,000 horse, and with the object of conquering the entire Hindustan, took place. The invader crossing the Indus proceeded to Delhi and encamped, without opposition, on the banks of the Jumna. The people, fleeing in dismay, crowded the capital. Supplies were cut off and famine prevailed. The nobles advised terms of peace but Allaudin gallantly prepared to fight. In spite of treachery, rebellion and disaffection amongst the nobles, followers and army of Allaudin, the invader failed to take advantage of the situation and returned. This led Allaudin to imagine himself a second

²⁷ Bev., I., pp. 82-83.

²⁸ Ib., p. 84.

Alexander and to conceive grand projects. He wanted to start a new faith and effect fresh conquests in India itself.²⁹ In 1299 A.D., Allaudin marched on Jaipur.³⁰ During his absence from the capital, his nephew and brother-in-law Rukn Khan had rebelled but Allaudin soon recovered and his nephew fled from the throne.³¹ Later, Jaipur was captured. Hāmbīr Dev, his family and garrison were put to the sword. The same fate overtook the Raja's minister who had turned traitor to him. In 1300 A.D., the first attack on Ranthambhor and Chittoor was unsuccessful but in the following year, Ranthambhor fell and the defenders committed *Johur*. Thus, Gujrat, Rajputana and Malwa were conquered and the whole of Hindustan came under his firm rule.³²

Allaudin's general, the eunuch Mallik Kafur was entrusted with an expedition into Southern India and the campaigns were carried on between the years 1301—1311 A.D. Kafur returned to the capital in 1311 A.D. with incredible wealth from the accumulated treasures in the south. In the course of his campaigns, the Yādavas of Deogiri were completely subjugated, the Hoysalas were humbled and their capital plundered, the Coromandel was overrun and Muhammadan garrisons were quartered at Madura, the ancient Pāndyan capital. Dreadful cruelties were practised by the invaders as we shall see.

To continue the narrative, Chittoor was again attacked in 1303 A.D., and the attack was contemporaneous with a blockade of Delhi by the Moghul who, however, retreated again for unknown reasons.³³ In 1304 A.D., Malwa was captured, the Raja was defeated and the surrender of ancient Ujjain was signified by illuminations and rejoicings at the Muhammadan capital. The defeated, yet proud, Raja was taken prisoner to Delhi where he declined an insulting offer of freedom. The

²⁹ Bev., I, p. 79.

³⁰ Bev., I, p. 80.

³¹ Bev., I, p. 81.

³² V. A. S., *Ox. His. of Ind.*, p. 233.

³³ Bev., I, pp. 82–83.

story goes that his beautiful daughter feigning consent to her joining the Sultan's harem by a clever strategy regained for her father his freedom. In 1305 and 1306, two Moghul invasions were successfully repelled. The Muhammadan armies crossed the Indus on plundering raids into Kabul, Ghazni and Kandahar. It may thus be affirmed that Allaudin had rid Hindustan of most of his enemies and restored comparative tranquillity at or about the time of Mallik Kafur's southern campaigns.³⁴

Taking advantage of the disturbed condition of affairs in the Muhammadan Sultanate at Delhi, Rāma Deva had withheld the agreed tribute for a period of three years. Kafur advanced against him with 100,000 horse, reinforced on the way by the armies supplied by the governors of Malwa and Gujrat. On the frontiers of the Deccan, he met with severe opposition and made little progress for a time. He captured the daughter of the beautiful Kamalā Devi, who like her mother before, was taken to the harem and married to Allaudin's son. Mallik Kafur, however, was able to subdue a greater part of the Mahratta country and force Rāma Deva to sue for peace. In 1306 A.D., he agreed again to be a feudatory of the Sultan continuing to be faithful to him and during the remaining years of his life did not depart from this undertaking.³⁵ Rāma Deva hospitably received Kafur and went with him to Delhi.³⁶

In 1309 A.D. in the course of his second expedition, Mallik Kafur proceeded to Wārangal, through Deogiri.³⁷ An army sent thither had previously returned unsuccessful.³⁸ The fortress was reckoned strong and impregnable.³⁹ The Kākatiyas of Wārangal had a famous queen Rudrāmba, ruling a vast territory between 1261 and 1291. It was in her reign that Marco Polo visited the Coromandel. She was succeeded by her son and heir Pratāpa Rudra Deva II. In the course of

³⁴ Bev., I, p. 84.

³⁵ S. K. I., S. I. & M. I., p. 123.

³⁶ Bev., I, p. 85.

³⁷ S. K. I., S. I. & M. I., pp. 87-88.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 85-86.

³⁹ *Mad. Ep. Rep.*, 1917, p. 127; Elliot, *His. of Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 80.

his campaign, Kafur appeared at Indore, to the north of Hyderabad and caused terrible consternation and dismay amongst a people who had never seen the Muhammadans before. He encamped before Wārangal. After a very valiant defence, during the course of which Rudra stood Kafur at bay, the fortress was taken by assault. The terms of capitulation offered by Pratāpa Rudra were accepted, the country was laid under tribute and the general left the capital with a thousand camel-loads of booty.⁴⁰

Whether Rāma Deva of Deogiri had offered assistance as a vassal of the Delhi Sultan to Mallik Kafur during this march against Wārangal does not clearly appear. In 1310, again, Mallik Kafur, on his way to Dorasamudra, halted at Deogiri. Śankara Deva, son of Rāma Deva, was ruling and must have exhibited signs of dissatisfaction towards the Delhi ruler.⁴¹ Kafur, however, passed on without serious notice of it on his conquering and plundering expedition. His objectives were Dorasamudra, capital of the Hoysala Ballālas and the south up to the Cape.

* The Hoysala Ballālas were a Kannada line of kings. During three centuries they had acquired enormous wealth and a large expanse of territory. Though a few decades before the empire was torn by internecine strife, it had again reunited under King Someśvara, who had proclaimed himself Emperor of the south. At the time of which we are speaking, Ballāla III was Emperor of the Hoysala Ballālas and was ruling over a vast tract of country which had remained united and unscathed during a period of political turmoil in the south. His capital Dorasamudra (part of which is the modern Halebid) in the fastnesses of the Malnad region, nearabout the ghats of the west coast, was in the highest state of prosperity.⁴² He had heard enough of what the Muhammadan invasion to his country

⁴⁰ Bev., I, p. 85.

⁴¹ S. K. I., S. I. & M. I., p. 123.

⁴² S. K. I., S. I. & M. I., p. 123.

would mean. The Hoysalas were responsible for a special style of architecture and the temples in the country were priceless gems of the Hoysala art. Ballāla, therefore, while his army had been sent on a plundering expedition elsewhere, learning of the impending Muhammadan invasion, soon returned to headquarters. His friend and ally, Vira Pāṇḍya, on getting news of the Muhammadan campaign, despatched a large army to assist him. Ballāla, however, offered terms of peace to Mallik Kafur. The Muhammadan general demanded conversion, tribute and *Jeszia*. Finally, Ballāla is said to have been taken captive to Delhi and afterwards released. The booty of the conqueror is said to have comprised 312 elephants, 20,000 horses, and 96,000 maunds of gold.⁴³

After the sack of Dorasamudra in 1310 A.D., Mallik Kafur proceeded still further south, reached the Malabar coast and then carried on his victorious campaign into the interior. The plunder of the temples and the wealth that he took back to Delhi on his return were enormous.

In 1312 A.D., Mallik Kafur was despatched again against the recalcitrant Śankara Deva of Deogiri. The Raja was defeated and put to death. The general stayed at the capital for some time collecting all the tributes due to the Sovereign at Delhi and sent the proceeds to the Imperial capital.⁴⁴

Meanwhile, the affairs at Delhi were taking a different turn. The king was getting old and feeble. The flames of insurrection had told upon the centre of the Sultanate at Delhi. Allaudin's fortune was on the decline. The meridian of his splendour and power had passed. Gujrat, which took the lead, defeated the general sent against it with great slaughter. The Rajputs of Chittoor hurled their Muhammadan officers from their places and regained their independence. Harapāla, the son-in-law of Rāma Deva, stirred up the Deccan and expelled several of the Muhammadan garrisons, when Mallik Kafur was recalled and left the place. Even Kafur was not free from

⁴³ *Ib.*, pp. 93-94.

⁴⁴ *Bev.*, I, p. 85.

treasonable designs against his master. Conspiracies in the household and rebellion and defeat of his armies everywhere made Allaudin mad with rage. His illness increased and he died in 1316 A.D.⁴⁵

Allaudin was a most notable ruler. He considerably extended Muhammadan territories in India.⁴⁶ His taste for architecture, like that of his predecessors, was responsible for a number of monuments, chief of which was the Allaudin gate at Delhi. The Moghuls enrolled in the Imperial army became unruly and dangerous, and one of them was very soon to found a new dynasty. For the purposes of our narrative what is more important, however, is the effect of Allaudin's invasions and of his policy towards the Hindus which had a profound bearing on the formation of a Hindu coalition in the south against the Muhammadans. Whether he was merciless and fanatical like the Central Asian warriors of the previous centuries, whether he distributed gifts with a vain liberality on the one hand as he slaughtered on the other, and whatever the extent of wholesale massacres of armed or unarmed and defenceless Hindus, man, woman and child to which he may have been responsible, are matters which have to be judged from the standards of his day. Ibn Batuta's claim for him as one of the best Sultans is not considered to be justified by V. A. Smith either by the manner of obtaining his throne or by the history of his acts as Sultan.⁴⁷ Barani, 'the excellent historian' of Smith, refers to his crafty cruelty and disgusting vice. 'He shed more innocent blood than ever Pharaoh was guilty of.' He ruthlessly killed everyone likely to endanger his throne and his nobles' heads were cut off, root and branch, almost to a man. He initiated a new horror, women and children were not spared. He was a particularly savage tyrant, with very little regard for justice. The bulk of his subjects were Hindus. He enforced the practices of his predecessors with

⁴⁵ *Historians' His. of World*, Vol. XXII, p. 23.

⁴⁶ V. A. S., *Ox. His. of Ind.*, pp. 232-34.

⁴⁷ Elliot, Vol. III, p. 184.

great precision and definiteness. Rules and regulations were drawn up for grinding down the Hindus and for depriving them of their property and wealth by every possible means, so as to reduce them to a position of helpless indigence. Half the produce, instead of the usual sixth, was taken from the land in years of plenty as well as during seasons of drought and famine.⁴⁸ In his reign, no Hindu could hold up his head, and in the house no sign of gold or silver, or of any superfluity was to be seen. These things, which nourish insubordination and rebellion, were no longer to be found. Blows, confinement in the stocks, imprisonment and chains were all employed to enforce payment.⁴⁹ Add to these, an organised system of espionage and punishments, regulation of prices by executive fiat and establishment of state granaries on a large scale, it was small wonder that this fantastic regulation should die with him, that during his latter days, in the wake of his tyranny, success should no longer attend his arms and that the country should be the hot-bed of intrigue and rebellion.⁵⁰ The demands of Allaudin's military departments were exacting. Heavy tributes were levied on South Indian kingdoms. Royal wealth constituted materials of war and the temple treasuries provided for long journeys, the military necessities and the distinctive methods of warfare.

The policy of Allaudin has been justified by some historians on the exigencies and needs of the time and to punish the wealthy and rebellious Hindus.⁵¹ The vigour, efficiency and comprehensiveness of his centralised administrative system appear to have brought peace and security. The Muslim rule became an imperial power. Institutional life was developed and whatever threatened to impair the efficiency of the State

⁴⁸ V. A. S., *Ox. His. of Ind.*, p. 235.

⁴⁹ S. K. I., *Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture* pp. 292-93.

⁵⁰ Iswari Prasad, *Med. Ind.*, pp. 209-216.

⁵¹ It is, however, difficult to agree with this contention.

was crushed aside. The cheapness of the necessaries of life under State regulations and control increased the happiness of the people and bound them more closely to the personal despotism of the emperor,⁵² in which the people acquiesced as it gave them peace and security from Mongol invasions.

II

South Indian Kingdoms

On the death of Allaудин, Mubarak became Sultan and reigned for a period of four years. He was inept, drunken, revengeful and vicious. Nevertheless, two successes attended the Muhammadan armies. The Imperial hold on Gujerat was tightened. In Deogiri, the Raja, Harapāla Deva had revolted. The Sultan proceeded against him in person to the Deccan and recovered the country of the Mahrattas. Harapāla was unable to offer any great resistance. He was captured and barbarously flayed alive in 1318 A.D. Deogiri became the first Muhammadan province south of the Vindhya range and attempts were hereafter to be made for extending their territories with Deogiri as centre.⁵³ The Sultan triumphantly returned and soon gave way to his weaknesses. He was ultimately killed in 1320 at the instance of one of his 'trusted' subordinates Mallik Khusru and thus the dynasty of Allaудин came to an abrupt end. Khusru as Nasirudin was Sultan only in name and but for a short time. His alleged favour of Hindus against Muhammadans was an additional ground of complaint against him and Ghazi Beg Tughlak became Sultan in 1321.⁵⁴

The Raja of Wārangal had revolted and thrown off the Muhammadan yoke, in the meantime.⁵⁵ He tried to rally the forces of Hinduism while his general, Muppidināyaka, marched through Kānchi as far as Trichinopoly.⁵⁶ The Sultan's eldest

⁵² Iswari Prasad, *Med. Ind.*, p. 216.

⁵³ S. K. I., *Begs.*, pp. 166–84; Elliot, III, pp. 558–59; Iswari Prasad, p. 217.

⁵⁴ Bev., I, p. 86.

⁵⁵ Bev., I, p. 86.

⁵⁶ S. V. Venkateswara, *New Lights on the Beginnings of Vijayanagara History*, p. 2.

són Ulugh Khan advanced in person and conducted the siege of the capital, but Pratápa Rudra Deva defended admirably. The besiegers lost heavily by hot winds and severe weather. The army was considerably depleted by desertion and pestilence as well as in actual fight. The survivors were greatly dispirited. The prince raised the siege and returned. He was hotly pursued by the enemy who slaughtered his men. A number of his officers who had deserted him equally suffered at the hands of the enemy. In the following year, the prince came with a fresh army and renewed the siege. The successes of the prince over Wārangal which was named Sultanpur were celebrated at Delhi.⁵⁷ The offer made to the Raja of Wārangal describes the character of the Muhammadan invasions. He had to become a Mussalman, give up all earthly possessions to "the faithful" or put his neck under the sword. By 1323, Wārangal was placed under permanent tribute and Muhammadan degradations were carried on as far as Rāmeśvaram, leaving garrisons at various places, chief of which was Madura. These Muhammadan conquests were devastating and subversive of Hindu civilisation. This provoked reaction. A scheme to transfer the capital to Deogiri was a result. The opposition to it strengthened.⁵⁸ In the meantime, the Sultan had been invited to intervene and decide the case of a disputed succession and, for this purpose, had marched across Bengal as far as Sonargon near Dacca. He left Bengal practically independent, although he brought with him to Delhi an important provincial prince as captive. In 1325, he died and was succeeded by his son Muhammad bin Tughlak.

Muhammad bin Tughlak ruled till 1351 A.D., i.e., he was Sultan of Delhi for practically the whole period of our survey. V. A. Smith says: "The parricide⁵⁹ gathered the fruits of his crime and occupied the throne without opposition." He occupied it for twenty-six years characterised by a "tyranny as

⁵⁷ S. V. V., *New Lights*, p. 2.

⁵⁸ S. K. I., *Begs.*, pp. 167-70.

⁵⁹ Note:—This is questioned by many.

atrocious as any on record in the sad annals of human devilry and then died in his bed. Like Allaudin, he secured favour by lavish largess scattering without stint the golden treasures of his father.⁶⁰ He is described as one of the most astonishing kings mentioned in the records of the world. He was a mixture of opposites. He patronised learning and art and encouraged relief to the sick and needy on the one hand, while on the other his heavy exactions and grinding tyranny knew no limitations. Duties on the necessities of life left the fields uncultivated. Industrialists ceased to labour; farmers fled to the woods and lived by rapine. Currency was tampered with and inflated. Paper money was introduced. Capital was changed to Deogiri from Delhi and the removal of the population was enforced with untold and unimaginable horror. Later, the capital was changed again. The instability of government became widely known. Ferishta records: "Public credit could not long subsist in a state so liable to revolutions as Hindustan; for how could the people in the remote provinces receive for money, the base representative of a treasury that so often changed its master?"

His attempts to conquer Persia and China and the expenditure incurred in buying off the Moghul invaders were more than anything else responsible for the inflated currency of his day.⁶¹ Add to these mad projects, the personal pique which twice changed the capital to a distance of 700 miles. Of his reign, we have the contemporary records of the Muhammadan chronicler Ibn Batuta and of Alberuni. The occasion when Muhammad Tughlak undertook an invasion of the south, appears to have been considered propitious for a Hindu revolt in the Deccan country and for organising a powerful Hindu confederacy to meet the Muhammadan onrush. It is generally believed that Ballāla III, aided thereto by the contemporary Kākatiya king, brought this about. Ballāla III who had been taken as prisoner

⁶⁰ V. A. S., *Ox. His. of Ind.*, p. 237.

⁶¹ Bev., I, pp. 89-90.

in 1310⁶² had returned by 1313.⁶³ Dorasamudra, his capital, had been rebuilt by 1316.⁶⁴ In the course of the next decade, Ballāla III is said to have been continuously active on his northern frontier, at Tiruvannāmalai, Vijayanagara or Hosa-pattana and elsewhere, quietly and unnoticed reorganising his resources. From 1328 onwards, he was carrying on a systematic campaign against the Sultanate of Madura.⁶⁵ Besides, early in Tughlak's reign, the Kerala ruler Ravivarman Kulaśekhara had turned out the Muhammadan garrisons in the Tamil country.⁶⁶ The northern frontier of Ballāla's territory was in charge of a number of generals, three of whom happened to be brothers. They held the frontiers, from the west coast a little north of Goa right across up to the mouth of the river Krishna, successfully. The flank of the Muhammadan province of Deogiri was watched by the Kākatiyas, at the time nominally under tribute to Muhaminad. Ballāla III was thus able to carry on a war in the south against the Madura rulers unmolested by any action of Muhammad till he fell fighting in 1342 at Beribi (Chirchi).⁶⁷ Ballāla IV followed soon after.⁶⁸

Muhammad Tughlak after putting down⁶⁹ rebellions and conspiracies in the headquarters of his dominions turned his attention to the south to reassert his authority there. He invaded both Wārangal and Dorasamudra about 1327-28 A.D. On this occasion, the Hoysala capital was left undisturbed when Ballāla delivered up the fugitive Bahāudin according to one account but according to another Dorasamudra was completely razed to the ground. A permanent garrison was located at Madura and it continued for seven years.⁷⁰ His

⁶² E. C., V, Hassan 51-52.

⁶³ E. C., VII, Sh. 68.

⁶⁴ E. C., III, Md. 100.

⁶⁵ S. K. I., *Some Contributions*, p. 296.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 295.

⁶⁷ Ibn Batuta, Vol. IV, p. 198.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 297.

⁶⁹ S. K. I., *S. I. & M. I.*, pp. 128 and 130.

⁷⁰ S. K. I., *Some Contributions*, p. 295.

vast Empire now extended from Sonargon to Gujrat and Lahore to Ma'abar and he ruled over the largest empire of any Muhammadan ruler.

Muhammad's troubles in the north were not over. We have already narrated the circumstances which made his territories an active volcano. The southern rulers were thus able to gather their efforts together and carry on petty skirmishes on the frontier.

There was a Hindu revolt at Delhi in 1320 A.D. side by side with the disaffection in the army of the Deccan. Further, the Muhammadans of Bengal and of the Deccan were ever ready to rebel against the central power at Delhi. In Bengal, which was isolated from the south, they did not receive the assistance and co-operation of the Hindus in their efforts. But in the Deccan, where even the Hindu rulers had some of them employed Muhammadans in their armies, such help and co-operation as was required was at hand. It is said that the Hindu rebels at Delhi in 1320 A.D. were in secret understanding with the Rajas of the Deccan, nor is this improbable considering the number of hostages from amongst them at the Imperial court. There is further evidence of the fact that in response to a revolt at headquarters, there was insurrection and rebellion in the south. That was how Muhammad Tughlak as Crown Prince had suffered disaster in his first siege of Wārangal when the traitorous officers in his army had joined its Hindu Raja.⁷¹

Muhammad Tughlak's invasion of the Deccan is variously accounted for. The idea of a central capital for all India including the south, exhibition of prowess of the Imperial arms, punishment of recalcitrant Hindu princes and a little quiet in the northern provinces are amongst these. The prospective conqueror of China, Persia, Nepal and other countries would further be anxious to have all India completely subject and submissive to his rule. The Yādava kingdom of Deogiri was a Muhammadan province and Muhammadan officers had been

⁷¹ Talboys Wheeler, *His. of Ind.*, Vol. IV, Pt. I, pp. 81-82.

appointed to rule over the Kākatiya territory of Wārangal. One of his nephews variously described but perhaps a cousin,⁷² Bahāudin Gustasp held a government as Viceroy of the Deccan. He rebelled against the Sultan, tempted to aspire to the throne on the wave of the prevailing general discontent. He openly raised the standard of revolt against Muhammad Tughlak. He had great influence in the country and consequently his rebellion assumed serious dimensions and spread throughout the Deccan. His efforts met with some initial successes. Bahāudin's rebellion at Sagar was the signal for other revolts elsewhere. Further, the establishment of a Muhammadan Sultanate under a Muhammadan governor at Madura may have also provoked the Hoysala and Kākatiya rulers to join their resources and make a stand for themselves.⁷³ The Sultan sent Khaja Jehan, the governor of Gujrāt against Gustasp. A battle was fought near Deogiri in which Bahāudin was badly beaten. After suffering terrible loss, he is said to have fled to the Raja of Kampili in the Karnataka country for refuge. In the meantime, the Sultan had advanced in person as the rebel's position at Kampili was considered to be powerful and fixed Deogiri for his headquarters. It was then that, pleased with its situation and strength, he determined to change his capital, a change fraught with such dire consequences. The Raja of Anegondi—one of the chief princes of the infidels⁷⁴—sheltered the rebel nephew of the Sultan and advanced to Kampili to oppose him in person. After being twice defeated, the Sultan finally subdued the Raja who ran into the fastnesses of Anegondi situated amongst inaccessible mountains for refuge. Even that fortress did not long survive the siege of the Sultan's forces. The Raja of Kampili was captured and put in prison. According to Ibn Batuta, he commanded a great fire to be prepared and lit, into which his wives and

⁷² S. V. V., *New Lights*, p. 3.

⁷³ S. K. I., *Some Con.*, p. 296.

⁷⁴ S. V. V., *New Lights*, p. 3

children and others threw themselves to be saved from dishonour, while himself and a few of his followers fought to the end till the fortress was taken along with the inhabitants who were converted into Islam.⁷⁵

The Kampili Raja realised his dangerous situation ; his stores of grain were exhausted and he was in imminent peril of capture. He was resolved to die with his family and his trusted lieutenants. He advised Bahāudin to go to Ballāla who would defend him.⁷⁶ While, however, Bahāudin had managed to flee for protection to the court of the Ballāla who was then residing in his residential capital of Tonnur, the Sultan proceeded thither and Ballāla anticipating what was in store for him by a refusal, prudently delivered up the fugitive. Bahāudin was taken to Delhi and flayed alive. According to a description of this incident given by Ibn Batuta, "They bound his legs and tied his arms to his neck, and so conducted him to the Sultan. He ordered the prisoner to be taken to the women, his relations, and there insulted and spat upon him. Then he ordered him to be skinned alive, and, as his skin was torn off, his flesh was cooked with rice. Some was sent to his children and his wife, and the remainder was put into a great dish and given to the elephants to eat, but they would not touch it. The Sultan ordered his skin to be stuffed with straw, and to be placed along with the remains of Bahadur Bura,⁷⁷ and to be exhibited throughout the country," showing how traitors to the king would perish. Subsequently, the loathsome object was sent to the Governor of Sind who directed its burial. The Sultan was infuriated ; he pursued the Governor to death and had a *Kāzī* who had supported him flayed alive.⁷⁸

With these before us, we can easily see that the internal administration of Hindustan was rapidly drifting into ruin.

⁷⁵ Elliot, p. 614.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 614.

⁷⁷ A relative of Balban and claimant to the viceregal throne of Bengal.

⁷⁸ V. A. S., *Ox. His. of Ind.*, p. 241.

Rigorous collection reduced the peasantry to beggary. People with anything at all had no recourse but to rebel. The Sultan vowed revenge and hatred against his own subjects. On one occasion, he "led forth his army to ravage Hindustan. He laid the country waste from Kanauj to Dalman (on the Ganges in Oudh) and every person that fell to his hands he slew. Many of the inhabitants fled and took refuge in the jungles, but the Sultan had the jungles surrounded, and every individual that was captured was killed."⁷⁹ The victims were mostly Hindus and this fact added to the pleasure of his chase. In the south of India, exaggerated accounts of even these proceedings circulated and it looked as if his intolerance, ambition and ferocity had no limitations whatever. The security of the ancient dynasties was shaken by the rapidly advancing terror of this kind. The result was inevitable, if the Hindus did not bestir themselves betimes. The Hindu states would be over-run, devastated, the royal families disappearing, followed with a certain destruction of the religion, temples, cities and whatever was worth living for and dying for, of the Hindus. As Talboys Wheeler says, the interval (1321-47 A.D.) was of profound significance. While a revolt was suppressed its causes were not removed; it was liable to break again. Muhammad's proceedings frightened the Rajas as well as the Muhammadan armies in the Deccan who broke into mutiny.

Of the revolutions in Bengal, on the Ma'abar coast, in Deogiri and in the South, the most formidable was that in the Deccan. A confederacy was organised with the avowed object of turning out the Muhammadans from South India. Whoever were the leaders had a clear vision and wonderful foresight. The campaign was eminently successful and a Hindu Empire was established at Vijayanagara, the site of the present ruins of Hampe.

This war was a patriotic struggle for the Hindus for mere existence and for the preservation of all that was cherished as sacred from a religious point of view.

⁷⁹ S. K. I., *Begs.*, p. 167.

We must also remember that the Delhi Sultanate had overgrown and become weak. The condition of affairs there was unsatisfactory. In the South, warlike feeling still possessed the people, who had lost power only recently. There was a chance for able adventurers which was fortunately utilised to the full and to the best and lasting advantage of the people concerned.

The condition of South India in this period of the fourteenth century may be broadly described as follows : On the north-west, the Yādavas of Deogiri (centre of a regular Muhammadan provincial administration) were on the line of the Narmada, and on the north-east, the Kākatiyas of Wārangal a subordinate Muhammadan kingdom could be said to bar invasion from the Bengal side and the Central Provinces. The Hoy-salas of Dorasamudra once defeated by the Muhammadans bore the brunt of the trouble and formed the defence. To the south of them were the Pāndyas feeling Muhammadan pressure. The Mussalman conquest of the south was not permanent. Under Muhammad Tughlak, the terrors of Islam began to wane and the Hindus of the south at last learned the folly of discord. Out of the chaos of the southern kingdoms, rose the Empire of Vijayanagara in 1336.⁸⁰

Vijayanagara

Why Vijayanagara was selected as the capital of the new found Empire is the next question for consideration.

The date of the foundation of Vijayanagara which subsequently formed a bulwark for the defence of Hindu rights cannot be exactly determined. According to Sewell,⁸¹ though the earliest settlement at Hampe cannot be assigned to any definite age, a town is said to have existed there as early as 1100 A.D. The poet Harihara refers to the Viśvāpākṣa temple in his works dated 1150-1250 A.D. The Dharmakarta of the Pampāpati temple asserts the existence of inscriptions and records to prove that in 1199 A.D. the great *gopura* of

⁸⁰ V. A. S., *Ox. His. of Ind.*, p. 242.

⁸¹ F. J. Richards, *Gazetteer of the Salem Dt.*, Vol. I, p. 64.

the first *Prākāra* was originally built. Fergusson⁸² dates the foundation as 1118 A.D. by Vijayarāyulu. This contradicts the Dharmakarta's account which places the commencement of the dynasty in 1336 A.D. (S. 1258), by Vidyā Rāmaswami (Vidyāraṇya).

Dr. R. Shama Sastri refers to a few inscriptions of the ancient kings of Anegondi.⁸³ He mentions S 910 and says that long before the Gajapathi Kings of Anegondi came on the scene, Hampe and Anegondi formed part of the famous Cālukyan Empire in the tenth century A.D., and that these parts were ruled by some Jaina princes.

According to Mr. B. Suryanarayana Rao, Anegondi was in existence long prior to Vijayanagara and in the earlier periods of its history it was noted for considerable influence and power. Its chiefs were men of resource and even the early Muhammadan rulers had sought their assistance.⁸⁴ It was not a mere suburb. Besides, it had many natural advantages. The original name of the city where the ruins of Hampe now stand was Vijayanagara; it later became famous as Vidyānagara under the inspiration of the sage Vidyāraṇya.⁸⁵ Mr. Suryanarayana Rao considers Vijayanagara to have been founded about 1150 A.D. during the time of Vijayadhvaja, Anegondi having ceased to be the capital and the same to have been later revived as Vidyānagara in 1336 A.D.⁸⁶

According to Francis Buchanan, the Yādava dynasty of Vijayanagara is a matter of great curiosity and not yet well understood.⁸⁷ He refers to *Grāmapaddhati* and gives impossible dates like 493 A.D. for the foundation of Vijayanagara, near the old city of Anegondi, then wrested from the Turks. He later on cites Rāmappa's *Rāyapaddhati* and says⁸⁸ the

⁸² Sewell: *List of Anti., Mad.*, Vol. I, p. 106.

⁸³ *Ind. and Eastn. Arch.*, p. 374.

⁸⁴ *Q. J. M. S.*, Vol. VII, p. 285.

⁸⁵ *Never to be Forgotten Empire*, Intro., p. 3.

⁸⁶ *Ib.*, pp. 4-5.

⁸⁷ *Ib.*, pp. 11-12.

⁸⁸ *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 270.

Yavanas of Anegondi ruled there for fifty-four years till 836 A.D. Hoysalas took it from them and later changed their capital to Dorasamudra. Kampina Rāyas ruled at Anegondi for thirty years till the death of Komara Rāmanātha, (849-901 A.D.). Boji Rāyas, nine princes for 145 years, i.e., 1062-3 A.D., were followed by eighteen princes of Āndhra descent for 211 years, till it became the property of the Mlechchas who were driven out in 1336 A.D.

If it be permissible to go still further back to the legendary period, it will be found that this was a part of the Kiśkinda kingdom of Sugrīva, from which he was turned out by his brother Vāli. Rama, the celebrated hero of the Rāmāyaṇa, the great Hindu epic, befriended Sugrīva, first meeting him at the source of the Pampa or Tungabhadra river, where the famous Hindu Empire was afterwards to take its rise.⁸⁹ Names of places in the vicinity of Hampe are identical with those of the Rāmāyaṇa. Janamejaya Rāya, son of the emperor Parikṣit is said to have been ruling the kingdom from Hastināpura, in peace and wisdom, and whether the inscriptions be genuine or otherwise, the story is given. Heras seems to rely on them⁹⁰ but for the dates.⁹¹

The temple of Virūpākṣa is said to have existed in 1237 A.D.⁹² The temple can be seen to be a collection of buildings erected at different periods. The Bhuvanesvari shrine appears to have been built in the Cālukyan style of about the eleventh or twelfth century, admittedly anterior to the art of Vijayanagara, and there are Jaina temples on the Hemakūta Hill.⁹³

Two inscriptions of Harihara I describe him as a chieftain ruling over Navakhaṇḍa with Kunjarakonā as capital.⁹⁴ Rev.

⁸⁹ *Ib.*, p. 280.

⁹⁰ Rice, *Mysore*, Vol. I, p. 277.

⁹¹ *E. C.*, VII, SK, 12, 45 and 86.

⁹² *A. S. I.*, 1925-26, p. 140.

⁹³ Longhurst, *Hampe Ruins*, p. 27.

⁹⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 10.

A. S. I., Report, 1925-26, p. 140.

N. D. I., I, No. 18 (Kapalur).

Heras remarks Navakhaṇḍa is not mentioned and suggests that references are not reliable but even he accepts the existence of the place as certain.⁹⁵

According to Dr. Fleet, the Vijayanagara inscriptions refer to the kingdom of Hastināvati or Hampe or Hampe-Hastināvati or Anepongudi.⁹⁶ *Rājakālanirṇaya* refers to it as Hastina Kona, and an inscription of 1347 under Mārappa describes it as Hastini.⁹⁷

Prof. S. V. Venkateswara in his article "New Light on the Beginnings of Vijayanagara" refers to *Rājakālanirṇaya*. His account is partly based on this work. The authorship is ascribed to Vidyāranya, a disciple of Vidyāśankara. The origin of the empire is said to have been narrated in secrecy by Vidyāranya to his brother Bhārati Kṛiṣṇa when the latter was the pontiff of Sringeri. From this account, we learn that the city of Vijayanagara was once famous in history but of late years had suffered a decline. The sage Vidyātīrtha, i.e., Vidyāśankara, the preceptor of Vidyāranya, had decided to revive the glory of Vijayanagara and had taken up his abode at Mātangaparvata closeby. Mādhavācārya and his brother Sāyana, who had no issue, approached the sage in his *āśrama*, to implore him for progeny. Meanwhile, the two brothers, Harihara and Bukka, of the Kuru Vamśa, who were out on a hunting excursion also came there. These brothers were treasurer and secretary respectively of Pratāpa Rudra Deva of Wārangal. When the Sultan defeated that Raja and took him captive, they served as treasurers of the Raja Rāmanātha. A little while after, he too was slain and then the brothers were carried off by the Sultan's troops to Delhi. When they were subsequently released, they returned and took up their abode at Hastina Kona on the banks of the Tungabhadra river. According to the Professor, Harihara and Bukka, on their

⁹⁵ Heras, *Begs.*, p. 52.

⁹⁶ *J. B. Br. R. A. S.*, Vol. XII, p. 377.

⁹⁷ *E. C.*, VIII, Sb. 375.

meeting Vidyātirtha, became worshippers of the God Virū-pākṣa at Hampe. This part of the *Rājakālanirṇaya* will be considered a little later ; the account, however, will show that there was existing previously to the origin of the Empire of Vijayanagara, a city not altogether unknown. We shall also presently see the connection of Ballāla III, the Hoysala Emperor of the time, with Vijayanagara.

The present tiny hamlet of Hampe grew up around the great and famous temple of Pampāpati on the southern bank of the tributary of the Perdore in the Hospet taluk of the Bellary district. The remains cover an area of nine square miles and a far larger area, if we should take into consideration the old fortifications and outposts. Anegondi in the Nizam's dominions across the Tungabhadra river formed a northern outpost of the city, Kampili serving as an eastern frontier of the famous capital. Of course, Hospet once formed part of the extensive imperial city, by the name of Nāgalapur, in honour of Nāgala Devi, a favourite courtesan of Krishnadeva Rāya. Mr. M. H. Ramasarma in a very interesting article on "The Vestiges of Kummaṭa"⁹⁸ refers to Bahadur Baṇḍe, Kudure Kallu, Mādigara Hampayyana Guḍḍa (named after one of Kumāra Rāmanātha's generals) and Hale Kummaṭa, and to the fortifications of Hosa Kummaṭa in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, to Kumāra Rāmana Durga and the elephant stables. Perhaps, they were included among the suburbs of Vijayanagara.

I believe that Vijayanagara, just before its emergence as a capital of the most powerful Hindu Empire of the south under Harihara and Bukka, was familiarly known as Hosapattana and was a residential capital of Ballāla III, then Hoysala emperor. A number of inscriptions of the period describe Ballāla as having been in the *nelevidu* of Hosapattana. I further think that it was in the Hoysala country and that Harihara and Bukka were themselves chieftains under the

⁹⁸ Q. J. M. S., XX, pp. 261-270.

Hoysalas in all probability. I am aware Mr. Rice says Hosapattana was not in the Hoysala country,⁹⁹ but I am inclined to agree with Father Heras who accepts the view of Sir Walter Elliot.

Vijayanagara was a part of the Kuntala kingdom and Vinayāditya Hoysala was the ornament of the Kuntala dominions.¹⁰⁰ Vijayanagara belonged to Kuntala, a district of the Karnataka country.¹⁰¹ Inscriptions of the time of Devarāya II, 1430 A.D., describe Vijayanagara as situated in the Kuntala country :¹⁰² in the midst of the Karnataka Deśa, which was the abode of all wealth and which equalled heaven.¹⁰³ In the time of Acyutarāya also, 1538, Vidyānagara belonged to the government of Kuntaladeśa,¹⁰⁴ and likewise under Sadāśiva in 1555.¹⁰⁵ Prof. Venkateswara says that Harihara and Bukka on their release by the Muhammadans set up a kingdom at Anegondi (Hastinakonapura), included in the Kuntala Deśa for several years.¹⁰⁶

Dr. R. Shama Sastri seeks to identify Hosapattana of the inscriptions with Sakrepattana in the Chikmagalur taluk of the district of Kadur;¹⁰⁷ but no one before him has done so. Hosapattana was also called Hosahampeyapattana.¹⁰⁸

If we come to the inscriptions of Ballāla III, we find Penukonda was a part of the Hoysala dominions. In 1328, Mācayadannāyaka was ruling at Penukonda as a Hoysala Viceroy. A son of Ballāla III, known as Vira Virūpākṣa Ballāla or Vira Vijaya Virūpākṣa was crowned at Hosapattana.¹⁰⁹

⁹⁹ *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1923, p. 35.

¹⁰⁰ *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 155–56, No. 152, verses 25 26.

¹⁰¹ *E. C.*, XI, Cd. 29.

¹⁰² *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, pp. 160–64, No. 153 at p. 164.

¹⁰³ *E. C.*, XI, Cd. 45.

¹⁰⁴ *E. C.*, XI, Cl. 54.

¹⁰⁵ S.V.V., *New Lights*, p. 6.

¹⁰⁶ *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1927, p. 62.

¹⁰⁷ *South Indian Report of Epigraphy*, 1927, p. 112, No. 8, date 1340.

¹⁰⁸ *E. C.*, IX, Cm. 105, Bn. 111.

¹⁰⁹ *E. C.*, IX, Ht. 43.

This prince, afterwards Ballāla IV, was familiarly known as Hampiah or Hampe Vodeyar. In 1339 A.D., Ballāla III was ruling in happiness at Sri Vira Vijaya Virū-pākṣa Pura as his residential capital, and was sole monarch by his own valour.¹¹⁰ There are, besides, inscriptions at Hampe referring to the Hoysalas, implying thereby that Hampe was part of the Hoysala Empire.¹¹¹ In 1355, it was Bukka's capital and in the Hoysala country; and a number of Vijayanagara inscriptions refers to Hosapattana.¹¹² Bukka ascends and reigns from the great throne of the new Vijayanagara.¹¹³ Having conquered the whole world, he built a splendid city, the city of victory, and became Mahārājādhīrāja.¹¹⁴ He inhabited the city that bore the name Vijaya.¹¹⁵ He made Vijayanagara his permanent metropolis.¹¹⁶

Hosapattana was apparently known also as Hosabēṭṭa,¹¹⁷ Hosanād,¹¹⁸ where Ballāla III was ruling. Hospet of modern times cannot be a corruption of Hosapattana and even if it be, it will not negative obviously our hypothesis.

Even a cursory glance at the inscriptions of Ballāla III¹¹⁹ will show the importance attached by him to Hosapattana, which is identical with Vijayanagara and the present ruins of Hampe.

What was the reason for Ballāla III attaching so much importance to Hosapattana? We have already recounted

¹¹⁰ *Mad. Ep. Rep.* A2 of 1914.

¹¹¹ *A. S. I. Rep.*, 1907–08, p. 240, n. 3.

¹¹² *E. C.*, VII, Sk. 281, 1368.

¹¹³ *E. C.*, V, Cn. 256.

¹¹⁴ *J. B. Br. R. A. S.*, XII, p. 373.

¹¹⁵ *E. C.*, II, p. 115, n. 9.

¹¹⁶ *E. C.*, IX, Nl. 9, 1333.

¹¹⁷ *E. C.*, IX, Db. 13.

¹¹⁸ *E. C.*, IX, M. 9.

IX, Ht. 43.

V, Ak. 66.

IX, Db. 13.

IX, Db. 21.

¹¹⁹ *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XIV, Pt. ii, p. 518.

in the preceding pages the fate that overtook the kingdoms of the south from the campaigns of Allauddin onwards, and the efforts of the Hindu Rajas to prevent Muhammadan advance for the preservation of the Hindu religion. Ballāla's multiplication of capitals at Tiruvūṇamalai and Hosapattana must have been to secure the frontiers of his Empire against foreign aggression and to be in touch with the other Hindu Rajas. The northern frontier was a vulnerable portion of his dominions and the Raja of Wārangal had been proceeded against in 1326. Like Uṇṇamale on the eastern frontier, strategy required his continuous presence on this side to guard against any onrush of the Muhammadan army.

The distinguished geologist, Lt. Newbold in 1845 described the ruins in these words : "The whole of the extensive site occupied by the ruins of Bijanugger on the south bank of the Tumbuddra, and of its suburb Anegundi on the northern bank, is occupied by great, bare piles of bosses and granite and granitoidal gneiss, separated by rocky defiles and narrow rugged valleys encumbered by precipitated masses of rock. Some of the larger flat-bottomed valleys are irrigated by aqueducts from the river..... The peaks, tars and logging stones of Bijanugger and Anegundi indent the horizon in picturesque confusion, and are scarcely to be distinguished from the more artificial ruins of the ancient metropolis of the Deccan, which are usually constructed with blocks quarried from their sides, and lie in grotesqueness of outline and massiveness of character with alternate airiness and solidity exhibited by nature in the nicely poised logging stones and columnar piles, and in the walls of the prodigious cuboidal blocks of granite which often crest and top her massive domes and ridges in natural cyclopean masonry."¹²⁰ The great city of Vijayanagara was situated near very steep mountains. It had a circumference of over sixty miles. The walls of the fortress were carried up to the hills, enclosing the valleys at their foot.

¹²⁰ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 6.

"If a straight line be drawn on the map of India from Bombay to Madras," says Sewell in his monumental work, *The Forgotten Empire*,¹²¹ "about halfway across will be found the river Tungabhadra, formed of two rivers, Tunga and Bhadra, which flows in a wide circuit north and east to join the Krishna not far from Kurnool. In the middle of its course, the Tungabhadra cuts through a wild rocky country lying about forty miles north-west of Bellary, and north of the railway line from Bellary to Dharwar." It is certain that Anegondi was in existence as a fortified town about 1330 A.D. the residence of a family of chiefs in possession of a small state. In the earlier days, the lofty hills of granite in the area must have been utilised by them for erecting a strong fortress with its base on the stream. The advantage of the stream was that it was not fordable at any point within many miles from that place, the water was running in it throughout the year and in all seasons and during times of flood, it would overflow its banks besides forming a turbulent rushing torrent with dangerous falls at several points in its course.¹²²

After the fall of the Anegondi chiefs, who probably were feudatories of the Hoysalas, the Hindu Rajas must have felt the other side of the Tungabhadra river more secure for defence against the Muhammadan invaders from the north. Anegondi was a good defence against southern advances because of the river between an hostile army and the Anegondi kingdom, but it was found powerless to resist an attack from the north. It must therefore be that Ballala III and Harihara after him realised the importance of a river frontier and raised a capital at Vijayanagara.

¹²¹ *Ib.*, p. 6.

¹²² *Ib.*, p. 6.

THE MYTH OF WAR IN HEAVEN AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

BY M. YAMUNACHARYA, M.A.

WAR in Heaven is an old world-myth. It figures in the oldest Scripture of humanity, the Vedas. And it appears in the war between the dragon Vṛtra and Indra, Vṛtra being the Asura, and Indra, the Deva, depicted in various forms in the Rg-Veda and elsewhere. In the Samhitas (*e.g.*, Yajus) Devāsura Yuddha is an oft-repeated incident. (*Kṛṣṇa Yajur-Veda Samhita*, I. 5.1). In the Manichæn doctrine and the Zend Avesta, this idea reappears again as the two primeval dual forces, the Ahura-Mazda (Ormuzd) and Ahriman. The former is the good spirit, the latter the evil. The dragon of the Veda (Vṛtra) is Ahi, the serpent, and Ahri the Zend for the Sanskrit Ahi, is the old serpent. The Ahi is the Vṛtrāsura. In the *Talmud*, we have Asmodeus (the destroyer), the king of the devils. In the Bible, he is Satan who tempts Jesus and he is Māra in the legendary life of the Buddha.

Wars between gods are a common feature of Greek as well as of Hindu Mythology. Wars between the two deities, Śiva and Viṣṇu, and between the two cults called after them came to be variously depicted in the Purāṇas. To choose a typical instance, in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, there breaks out a war between Śiva and Viṣṇu in connection with the Bāṇasura legend, Bāṇa being a demon, whose guardian deity Śiva became. Kṛṣṇa, the incarnation of Viṣṇu, fought with him; and two fevers came into existence the Śiva-Jvara and Viṣṇu-Jvara, the latter vanquishing the former. Śiva deserted Bāṇa to his fate and Kṛṣṇa chopped off Bāṇa's thousand arms. Such stories of rivalry appear in the Purāṇas, *ad libitum*.

The idea of good and evil forces in perpetual and eternal conflict with each other took definite philosophical shape in the doctrine of Manichæism. Dr. L. Thorndike writes: "In the early years of the Sassanid dynasty, Mani or Manes had

again presented the doctrine of two great contending powers, the good and evil, in a form called Manichæism which invaded the Roman Empire. Later, it revived as a Christian heresy in the twelfth century in mediæval Europe, while fragments of Manichæan manuscripts have in recent years been discovered in Central Asia and Western China.” (P. 286, *A Short History of Civilization*.) It is evident that Manichæism is very much later than Zend Avesta. The founder Mani belongs to the third century A.D. His system is, according to Dr. Brewer, an “agglomeration of the Magian and Christian religions interlarded with a little Buddhism.” Mani was born in Babylonia. He travelled extensively in the East and is said to have visited India and China. He was much influenced by the Persian dualism, having won the recognition of the Emperor Shapur and exercising considerable influence under Hormuz. His teaching is founded on the Persian (Avestic) dualism of the two opposite powers of light and darkness, Ahura Mazda and Ahriman. (See A. A. Bevan’s Article on “Manichæism” in Dr. Hasting’s *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. VIII.)

In Egypt, Osiris is the holy light whose reign is interrupted by Typhon, the Spirit of Evil. Greece has Jupiter warring with the Titans. Many such parallels have been discovered by scholars between Vedic, Greek and Norse mythology.

In India, the *Bhagavad-Gita* has a whole chapter devoted to the explication of differences of Daiva and Āsura refined into a difference between the Daivic and the Āsuric types of human character. The sixth verse of the XVI chapter of the *Gīta* states : “*dvau bhūta sargaū lokesmin daiva āsura eva cha*”, i.e., there are two categories in creation, gods and demons, constantly arrayed in war in opposite camps. Another very ancient legend refers to Madhu Sūdana, or Viṣṇu, the slayer of Madhu, albeit Madhu and Kaitabha are the auricular defœdation of Viṣṇu, showing Viṣṇu to be the common source of the dual powers working in the universe. There is then the old legend of the churning of the Milky Ocean, connected with the Kūrma-avatāra of Viṣṇu, where Devas and Asuras pull the serpent Vāsuki wound round the mountain

acting as the churning rod, in opposite directions. Here comes out the fact that the adverse forces contribute to the success of the good forces ; for ambrosia is churned out of the Milky Ocean, which the gods alone come to possess and partake of.

These myths are not without profound philosophical significance. As they belong mostly to the childhood of the human race, the mythological stage of human progress according to August Comte, one can surmise how the idea of war between forces of good and forces of evil within the consciousness of man as well as in the external universe, where Nature seemed to present to man's vision both a benevolent as well as a malevolent aspect, found imaginative and pictorial expression in such legends and myths briefly alluded to in this article. The old Vṛtra-Indra legend is, according to one interpretation, the mythical representation of thunder and lightning smiting the clouds to release their contents, the precious rain on earth which, were it not for the smiting, would not form rain by condensation of moisture and fall on earth. This is the meaning of the war in Heaven and the metaphor is reduced to the scientific truth of dual forces or powers resulting in the Cosmic process. The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣat* relates how Brahman, for the sake of creation, split itself into two halves the male and female principles, or active and passive principles, in order to beget the universe. We have such cosmic principles, such as the centrifugal and centripetal forces, the positive (anode) and negative (cathode) poles of electricity, the anabolic and katabolic forces of all metabolism, protons and electrons, the positive and negative charges of electricity, inertia and motion, inspiration and expiration and the like. In the words of Rabindranath Tagore "The manifestation of the Gods is on the positive side of truth ; on the negative side are the Titans."

The archangels in Mahā-Viṣṇu's Heaven are, amongst others, Ananta and Garuḍa. The former is the Śeṣa (serpent) and the latter, the celestial bird of knowledge. Racially they are enemies but in Heaven Ananta is not the fallen angel, Lucifer. There is another legend, however, where the serpent

Suparna craves the protection of Viṣṇu who commands Garuḍa, the racial bird-enemy of the serpent race, to take him under his special protection, laying aside his enmity under divine dispensation. This, perhaps, illustrates the idea that in God, there is no enmity and in His Divine Being all is amity and harmony. The opposites are reconciled in Him. The *Bhagavad-Gīta* states this truth in the line : “*na me dveshyasti na priyah*” i.e., I have neither foe nor favourite. Another instance where the serpent or the evil one becomes subservient to the power that makes for righteousness is the following. We have the familiar Hindu symbol of the Śeṣa-Śayin or Mahā Viṣṇu sleeping on the Śeṣa, the serpent. It is a bed formed of three and a half spiral turns of the serpent's coil. The serpent floats on the Kṣira Sāgara or the Milky Ocean. One is reminded by this image of the spiral nebulae in the inter-stellar spaces, which are said to be the home and the cradle where worlds are in formation. The Milky Way, the galaxy is white like milk (the Kṣira-abdhi on which Viṣṇu reclines). Worlds evolve out of this Ocean. Evolution is spiral, like the folds of Śeṣa.

The above instances suffice us to show that the serpent plays a very important part in the mythology or folklore of the people of all lands. The vicissitudes of the serpent idea are many and varied in the religious beliefs of people of different countries. The serpent was sacred to Moses who raised an image for it and it is strange that the same serpent is the evil one in the Garden of Eden.

These myths have a bearing on the warring elements of human nature. According to one school of psycho-analysis, the one represented by Jüng, the racial unconscious recapitulates itself in the individual unconscious and individual dreams weave for themselves a fantastic pattern which gives a clue to the racial part of human nature. That we have two natures within ourselves, the higher and the lower selves, is a fact familiar enough to every one. By constant warfare, exercising our free-will, we recognize our true nature which is said to be inherently good. What we regard as the evil is the fuel that

feeds the flame of good. Goodness lies in actively combating evil. Such doctrine as this is the essence of active morality. Good then needs evil for its self-expression. We may quote here what Babu Bhagavandas writes in his *Krishna* (p. 8) as pertinent to the point raised here. "In fact, the great Jaina writers, whose versions of the *Rāmāyana* and *Mahābhārata* are more 'rationalistic' have a very illuminative theory that the Avatārās always come in opposed pairs, as Nārāyaṇa and Prati-Nārāyaṇa, the former representing the good force, and the latter the evil, as Rāma and Rāvaṇa; and history is fullest and vividest when the two forces of love and hate are battling most strongly. Each requires the other for its own Svarūpa-siddhi, self-expression, self-manifestation. And the more intense the opposition of the two, the more clear the definition of each. Gods and Titans, Angels and Devils, need each other."

Man is a Dr. Faustus placed between the angels of good and Mephistopheles, the Evil Spirit. Man is endowed with the power to choose what he will in the faith that

"The drunken Forces of Evil
Have shattered all bonds and are rushing wildly to ruin."

(Rabindranath Tagore's Mānasi.)

AN IMAGE AT HAMPI

BY S. SRIKANTAYA, B.A., B.L.

MANY of you, who have visited Hampi and rambled through the vast ruins of the ancient capital of the Great Hindu Empire of Vijayanagara, will not have failed to notice the little shrine behind the *Virūpākṣa* temple in its compound. In the place of what is believed to be the image of *Vidyāranya*, the accredited founder of the Hindu Empire and preserver of the national religion and *dharma* of the Hindus, now stands a seated figure of *Vidyāranya*, with the hand in the pose of *Vyākhyāna Mudra*. The image is recent and was installed by the admirers of that great sage. In front of that image is the ancient *Śri Cakra* which has, apparently, stood the test of time and withstood the onslaught and mad fury of the marauder.

The Image and Sri Cakra

The question naturally arises, what was the image which previously occupied the position where you find the modern image to-day ? It must undoubtedly be of a sage who, whether he be the founder of the Vijayanagara Empire or not, was held in the greatest esteem in his day and who was a worshipper of *Śri Cakra* which, thanks to a merciful providence, is still preserved to us in its original place and in its pristine purity. It is stated locally that there was an image of *Vidyāranya* which was removed. That image is not to be found in the Śankara Mutt at Hampi or in its precincts and, in all probability, is lost to us unless it be that the image in its vicinity in the same court-yard and in the next room occupied by the God of Eternity, *Ganeśa* has to be identified as such. In that case the problem arises whether we are right in identifying that image with that of *Vidyāranya*.

That in the Niche

That image is to be found fixed to the wall, on the left hand side, as you face the God *Ganeśa*. It is a very ancient



THE NEW VIDYARANYA IMAGE AND SRI Cakra

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THE IMAGE AT HAMPI

image and, before referring to it, it might be permissible to invite your attention to the locality in brief for a moment. For, as you turn to the right in the passage and walk across the entrance down to the path through which you are led down to the wilds and bends of the Tungabhadra river, you notice a small niche under the protecting base of a huge tree amidst rocks and boulders presenting a scene where, as Sewell will tell you, the sages past would like to dwell in peace, in solitude and obscurity in the midst of gorgeous splendour around. And I wonder whether Sewell had not this part in mind when he wrote of the hermitage where *Vidyāranya*, if there was one, might have dwelt. It is interesting to observe that in this niche is an image of what is called "the Sringeri Bhaṭṭa." Nothing is known about it, so far. But the picturesque and weird surroundings would certainly recall to your mind the wonderful and arresting description of Sewell.

The Yogic Posture

Let us now go back to the image which is the subject of the present note. This ancient image, which it is somewhat difficult to identify, is seated in a *Matsya*, a fish, in a Yogic posture, *Bhadrāsana*, its left leg on its right, its hand left over right, both resting upon the yogic *danda* called *Yogadanda*. The face is beatific: Large lobes of the ear hanging down, as in some images of the Buddha, signifying wisdom, while the crown is adorned with *Jatāmakuṭa*, to which we are used in the avatārs of Śiva as *Kapardin*. You will also notice a band above the waist round the chest, *Udarabandha*. The folds of his panche are also indistinctly observable on the image.

I have had the advantage of a discussion with several of my distinguished friends, but I am sorry to say that the results are somewhat inconclusive. Certain observations which I am going to make are purely tentative, non-technical and from the layman's point of view.

Who is Kriyasakti?

Attempts have been made, in the past, to identify *Vidyāranya* with *Rājaguru Kriyāśakti*. Time was when

Mādhava was said to be not merely *Vidyāranya* but *Sāyana* himself. The controversy between the identity of *Mādhava*, brother of *Sāyana* and *Mādhava Mantrin* has ended. There is no doubt that *Vidyāranya* is neither *Mādhava Mantrin* nor *Sāyana*. Dispute rages round the identity of *Vidyāranya* with the brother of *Sāyana*. This is hardly the place for a discussion of this problem. I do not believe it will be contended that *Vidyāranya* is identifiable with *Vidyā Śankara*. The difficulty in identifying *Vidyāranya* with *Kriyāśakti*, if there was one, has been set out by the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastry and Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar.

Symbol Explained

In the light of these observations with whom are we to identify this image? The fish is the symbol of one school of *Haṭayoga* philosophy presided over *Matsyendranātha* called after him. One of the brothers of *Mādhavācārya* was called *Bhoganātha*. The disciples of *Matsyendranātha* had their names ending in "Nātha". If that be so, this might well represent *Mādhava*, brother of *Bhoganātha*. Then the irresistible inference would be that *Mādhava* was *Vidyāranya* whose image is before you. *Vidyāranya* was more than a royal personage and the founder of an Empire and the *Udarabandha* and *Jajāmakuṭa* would perhaps signify the high favour which *Vidyāranya* commanded at the court of Vijayanagara.

Madhava Mantrin

One may enter a caveat at this identification and suggest the image to be that of *Kriyāśakti* from the pose and the fish *āsana*. But we have to remember that *Vidyāranya* and *Mādhava* with whom he is identified generally were disciples of *Vidyāśankara* of whom *Mādhava Mantrin*, the pupil of *Kriyāśakti*, was also a disciple. Thus, another alternative presents itself. Is the image likely to be that of *Vidyāśankara*? Should that be so, a great deal of difficulty will have been solved. The rulers of Vijayanagara might have been inspired by *Vidyāranya* to instal the image of *Vidyāśankara* after whom



SRINGERI BHATTA SHRINE

the great temple at Sringeri was constructed and to whose memory *Mādhava Mantrin* dedicated a village as an *agrahāra* called *Vidyāśankara Pura*.

Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar, who recorded his impressions of a tour of inspection to the ruins of Hampi about 1918–19, observed that behind the *Virūpākṣa* temple at Hampi was a shrine containing a seated figure of *Vidyāranya* in a teaching pose, 1½ feet high on a spot said to be his *Samādhi*. The modern image on the pedestal behind the *Śrī Cakra* is apparently modelled on an old one, which unfortunately is now missing. It is difficult to say how that image got lost and undoubtedly this leads to fresh complications in the decipherment of the image at Hampi.*

* Delivered at the Oriental Conference in December 1935.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN INDIA.*

BY RAJACHARITAVISARADA RAO SAHIB
C. HAYAVADANA RAO, B.A., B.L.

IT is my privilege this year to invite you into our midst and indicate briefly the present position of research in this branch of human studies. As a humble fellow-worker in the vast field, I value this privilege highly. If I cannot add materially to your deliberations, there is little doubt that I can learn much from them. My connection with this branch of study goes back to 1900. During the past 35 years, much valuable work has been done in this country, on both the physical and cultural sides of Anthropology. Many have contributed towards the accumulation of our knowledge in these domains. I need hardly refer to the labours of patient investigators like Risley, Thurston, Rangachar, Hutton, Mills, Hodgson, Bray, Roy, Nanjundaiya, Russel, Hira Lal, Anantha Krishna Iyer and others who have laboured in the field. So far as India is concerned, in the field of synthesis, on the physical side, Risley might be said to hold the ground especially with European students of Anthropology. But it is undoubted that both his theory and mode of approach have received severe blows from Indian and European ethnologists alike, while the Mohenjo-Daro discoveries have exploded his conclusions almost to the last degree. Recent writers of note in the sociological field have done much to advance research on the cultural side. In the Pre-historic field, Mr. Panchanan Mitra has produced a work which is suggestive to a degree. On the descriptive side, we have had a large accretion to our ranks. Besides those who are better known and whom I have already mentioned, there are a number of younger students whose earnestness in the field deserves a warm word of commendation. Mr.

* Presidential Address delivered by Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao to the "Ethnology and Folklore" section at the Indian Oriental Congress at the Meeting held at Mysore, on the 31st December 1935.

Karandikar's study of *Hindu Exogamy* is a notable contribution to the study of an obscure subject, while Dr. Ghurye's work on *Caste and Race in India* is a real addition to the literature on that great topic of sociological interest. Sir Charles Bell's fine work on the *People of Tibet* will rank perhaps as the first systematic description we have from a trained observer of the customs and habits of that really little-known people. In the field of physical Anthropology, Dr. Guha of the Indian Zoological Survey has rendered valuable service. The work of Mr. J. H. Hutton deserves special mention. He has given a real impetus to the study of the tribes in North-Eastern India. His studies of the *Angami Nagas* and *Lema Nagas* and other tribes living in the neighbourhood of Assam are typical of the excellent work he has done. Lt.-Col. Gurdon's *Khasis*, the Rev. Sidney Endles' *Kacharis*, Mr. Hodson's *Naga Tribes* of Manipur and Col. Shakespeare's the *Lushi Kuki Clans* have added much to our knowledge of the tribes of this region. The latest *Report of the Census of India* is another valuable addition to our knowledge of the Ethnology of India. In Folklore, we have workers of note; but it still needs greater attention. The inter-hemospheric diffusion of Indian folk-tales has to be worked out in far greater detail, if we are to realise aright the extent to which India has contributed towards world culture early in its life. Apart from the historical value attaching to such diffusion, the scientific importance of the study of folklore in India cannot be over-estimated.

The late Dr. E. Thurston

It is our duty, on an occasion like this, to recall the work of one of these prominent workers who has just passed away from our midst. Need I say I refer to the late Dr. Edgar Thurston who, more than anybody else, did much to popularise the study of Ethnology in India many years ago? To a well-trained mind, he brought to bear an assiduity of application that was truly marvellous. Amidst his varied and exacting departmental duties, he found time to take a personal interest in the study of man in the South of India. He travelled

widely, inquired patiently, collected carefully, and wrote incessantly during the whole time he was in charge of the Madras Museum. When the Indian Ethnographic Survey was organised in 1902, he was appointed its Director in Southern India, in which was included the States of Mysore, Travancore and Cochin for anthropometrical purposes. He treated this area as an ethnological block and thought that the physical data should be worked out by one hand to avoid undue variations in the results. I happened to travel with him throughout this State and can say he made a fine companion and a splendid chief. His keen sense of honour saved him from many a pitfall. He believes in hard work and expected nothing but the best that one could give. His labours finally took shape in the seven volumes of the encyclopaedic work known as the *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*. His death, though at the advanced age of 80 years, is a great loss to Indian Ethnology and, as a pioneer, his valuable work requires to be remembered.

Advance in Ethnological Studies

Within the past thirty years, a great deal has been done to advance the study of Ethnology in India. The study of the races that make up India has been pursued with great vigour, though I must say that in recent years the interest of the Government has somewhat lagged behind. With the completion of the survey inaugurated in 1901, the Government of India and with them the State Governments have shown little inclination to find the funds required to give the next push required for furthering research in our field of study. The survey took some eight years and, as one result of it, we have had Provincial and State volumes of Ethnographic studies almost in every part of India. In our own State, you will be glad to hear that Diwan Bahadur L. K. Anantha Krishna Iyer has just issued the only volume that had been left over in the Mysore series. The value of these different series lies not so much in the matter they enshrine, valuable though it be; but in the extended vision they have given to the field

worker of the work that yet lies before him. The next line of advance must be to intensify study in carefully chosen areas of selected tribes, particularly of the more primitive type. I may say the notes so far collected in most of the volumes of the different series of *Castes and Tribes* have to be further verified and, in a great many cases, even completely re-written from personal inquiries made by competent scholars or well-trained field associates. On the physical side, the anthropometrical part calls for further attention. Larger data are required, if we are to arrive at anything like satisfactory deductions. On the purely social side, I should like to see an impetus given to the study, on the one hand, of social organisation and religion; and, on the other, of social institutions and beliefs. The economics, the laws, the ethics and the æsthetic ideas that influence a group or community are other important topics for study, if the social side is to be rightly appreciated. The aspects mentioned can best be studied only if the people and the Government are induced to take a closer interest in the practical importance of the study of man, his environment and what he makes of it or it makes of him. Cultural ideas spread, it is true, imperceptibly ; but the racial instinct is there and with it environment plays a great part. The scientific study of men—of Anthropology in its most general aspects and in its several sub-divisions—requires a scheme, an organisation, and a set of trained workers who should be devoted to their labours. One of the duties of this section should be, I think, to adumbrate a suitable scheme of work, set up an organisation and make it responsible for its being put into operation and get together a band of students who could be trained for such a work. The Universities in India may be expected to help in this connection, while the Government of India and the Indian Provincial and State Governments may be requested to assist on a basis that may not prove too onerous for them.

The Race Problem To-Day

The Government to-day is confronted by problems in which race, nationality and community are largely concerned.

If anything can help to solve what seem the larger issues of the politics to-day—and they are those connected with nationality and race, caste and creed, and community and communalism—it is the further study of man the world over. The West amidst the many blessings it has conferred has, unfortunately to itself and to the wider world it has influenced and is influencing to-day, treated its own culture as an ultimate fact. The student of man, as is the anthropologist, is bound to take a naturally different view. Judging from the biological point of view, he takes a more universal view of human history. To him civilization has a relative, not an absolute, value. His view is that it is the duty of man to study man in his various environmental spheres and leave it, as Prof. Marett well puts it, to the future to adjust the focus better, to decivilize history, as it were, in the sense of humanizing it more impartially and completely. To illustrate the proposition from a modern example, can we say, with what is happening in Abyssinia, that Italy is more "civilized" than Ethiopia, though it may claim it has no slaves within its own territories? Verily, verily, even Mussolini will have to admit that there is even to-day "the trace of savagery in the most civilized people". The degree of actual civilization attained by any group of people is as nothing compared to the de-humanization it might have undergone in the process or the elemental weaknesses it might carry with it. Mussolini would, perhaps, better appreciate the so-called "savage" if he knew that racial temperaments vary and that the "savage" Negro may be more musical than the civilized "West". It would, perhaps, be news to him that this is really so according to the physiologists who have given attention to temperamental tests among the races of mankind. The aids that anthropological studies afford to the practical administrator are great and, apart from that aspect of the matter, there is no question whatever that they afford a basis for the liberation of mankind from the thraldom of ideas of "inferiority" and "superiority", which, in the racial sphere, have done and are doing such incalculable damage to the advance of humanity along right lines. Attaching himself

to no theory of ultimate value, the anthropologist, with the wealth of data he collects and lays bare, points to show how man has civilized, how he has dominated the world, how he is able to live longer than other evolved animals, how in his historical evolution through the ages, he has "advanced from a less to a more satisfying kind of experience" thus enriching the meaning of life. If it were more generally appreciated that mankind, however it may differ to-day according to its divisions and sub-divisions, has to be traced back to one species—the existing species *Homo Sapiens*—perhaps it would better appreciate the need for the cultivation of a common humanity. How many in a thousand know that the Turki and the Ainu are Caucasie and perhaps Alpine? How many know that the Dravidians of Southern India and Ceylon belong to the Mediterranean Race, which itself belongs to the White or Caucasie branch of *Hominidae*? How many, again, know that the Alpine Race includes the European Alpine and the Asiatic Armenoid branches, to the former belonging the Swiss, the South Germans, Slavs, French, North Italians, the Persians, Tajiks and the mountaineers of the Pamirs, among whom a type prevails which, according to Seligman, tallies almost exactly with the Swiss representatives of the Alpine Race, while the latter include those now inhabiting Armenia, the Levant, Mesopotamia and South Arabia? How many, again, realize that the Mediterranean Race includes the inhabitants of not only the Mediterranean peninsulas and islands but also a part of Arabia and Africa, north of the Sahara (including the Berbers) and crossing Sahara invade the land of the Negro? And, finally, how many know that the Japanese represent a large infusion of Ainu blood, itself belonging to the Caucasie is not Alpine Race? The point to grasp and stress is that humanity would be saved, if humanity were made to know how intermixed it is in its origins, how intermixed its claims and rights are and how intermixed are its duties and responsibilities towards itself.

Importance of Ethnological Studies.

So much for what the student of man owes to his fellow-beings the world over. Nearer home, an advance in the Ethnological studies in India itself would mean much for the dissemination of sounder ideas as to the true racial origins of the larger components of the population and how they are interconnected. Such sounder ideas are, to-day, a crying need. Communalism in politics cannot be overcome except by the spreading of truer ideas as to common origins, ideas which are not only scientific in character but also arrived at after patient investigations by dispassionate students under conditions which negate pre-possessions and passions of every kind.

Anthropology and the Universities.

I must now pass on to another topic of importance. Is research work in Anthropology receiving the attention it should from our Universities? I am glad to say that the set-back that we had some years ago has now nearly disappeared. The pendulum has swung to the right and there is a movement afoot to give better recognition to its value. There is no doubt that much remains to be done. India must take her place beside the other countries in the pursuit of scientific truth in this field as well. How many are there who have studied in this country the subject of the "descent of man" or the other one of the place of origin of man, which is still described as "somewhere in Asia"? How many have given any attention to the investigation of "blood groups" about which a great deal was expected at one time by Anthropologists? As the result of research in the directions referred to, the idea of the "missing link", for instance, has been practically given up to-day. That is one result of the study by Anthropologists of what has been unearthed of Palæolithic Man in different parts of the world. It is now agreed that none of the early men so far discovered (Cro-Magnon, etc.) stand in the direct line of ascent of modern man. The traditional idea of the "missing link" has thus disappeared. Human evolution as I now understand it is not, as Keith well puts it, the simple

procession of forms leading from ape to man as we imagined it to be in the early Darwinian days. The true picture, according to him, is somewhat different. We have to conceive, he points out, "an ancient world in which the family of mankind was broken up into narrow groups or genera, each genus again divided into a number of species—much as we see in the monkey or ape world to-day. Then out of the great welter of forms one species became the dominant form and ultimately the sole surviving one, the species represented by the modern races of mankind." The study of "blood-groups", to which the American Anthropologist L. H. Snyder has given such splendid attention, has resulted in certain very interesting deductions. Some thirty-five years ago, it was discovered that there were definite substances in the serum of some bloods that would agglutinate or clump the cells of certain other bloods; and it was further shown that on this basis blood can be classified into groups, denominated under the Roman figures I, II, III, IV, with reference to the bodies theoretically causing agglutination. The chief anthropological interest of these groups lies in the varying percentages of each group in different peoples, for it has been found that different populations—not exactly "races"—being characterized by different frequencies of the four groups. On this footing, the presence in high frequency of group I has been looked upon as an indication of the degree of isolation of the people in whom it occurs. Very interesting studies among the North American Indians, Australians, the Melanesians of New Guinea and the Negroes of West Africa have been made. Incidentally, as the result of similar researches carried out among the Hungarian Gypsies, it has been found that there is a great similarity of their blood to that of Hindus, amounting, as Dr. Seligman points out, "to practical identity" though Hungarian Gypsies left their Indian home-lands hundreds of years ago.

An Indian School of Anthropology

Such are some of the results of research in these different fields of anthropological study. I have drawn attention to

them only to indicate the vast field that we have to cover and the varied sort of work that is being done outside India. We have to wake up to a sense of reality, if we mean to progress with the rest of the researchers in this most interesting branch of human knowledge. In this connection, it is our bounden duty to recall with gratitude the great lead that the Calcutta University under the guidance of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee has given to the study of Anthropology in Bengal. Madras is now engaged in organising a Department of its own and it is evidently arranging first to specialize in the study of Indian Pre-historic races. Mysore has been in the field for some years now and its work is in the capable hands of Prof. Krishna. Bombay is keen on the cultural side, while the other Universities are yet to make a move in this connection. On the purely physical side, India must hold up its name. Anatomy enters so much into the study of man that we should like to see trained anatomists turning their attention to the study of this subject. The close connection there is between Anthropology and Geology, Biology, Pre-historic Archæology, Physiology, Psychology and other sciences is seen when we begin to seriously pursue the study of Anthropology. The need for workers from among those who have studied these different branches of human knowledge is very real. An Indian school of Anthropology cannot, indeed, be built up without the aid of these specialists. Pre-historic Archæology is, indeed, too closely connected with Anthropology to be neglected to any extent.

Anthropology and the Indian Academy of Sciences

The Indian Academy of Sciences, inaugurated under the auspices of the Indian Institute of Science by our distinguished man of science Sir C. V. Raman and actively aided by the leading devotees of almost every branch of scientific study in India, ought to prove of immense value to the development of such a school, especially as the extent of co-operation that might be expected from it seems nearly unlimited. Such a school too should desire the united support of the Government of

India and the Provincial and State Governments, besides the goodwill and active aid of the Universities. A Pre-historic survey of India on the Provincial and State basis would be one of the first duties of such a school as I have urged. The fear that the pursuit of pure science as such is of little use to the country must be cast aside, for there is hardly any ground for the distinction that is sometimes sought to be made between pure science and applied science. The one really leads to the other; indeed, the one cannot be thought of without the other. What is pure science to-day helps towards industrial advance to-morrow and thus becomes applied science, in the commonest connotation of the phrase. Industrial advance in recent years has been very largely based on the demonstrations of pure sciences. What is increasingly needed in the country to-day is the encouragement of researchers in pure science so that the country may be fully benefited not only by their work—carried out irrespective of immediate results in the applied domain—but also by the cultural reputation that may be built up by them on the solid foundation of the high scientific work done by them. It is to be hoped that the foundation of the new Academy will mean in time the building up of the needed congeries of scientific societies which might help to feed it with membership and itself be the means of help to the sister societies especially in matters where its leadership, both in the matter of the organization of research and in that of the co-operative handling of larger propositions affecting research, might mean much to the country if not to humanity itself.

Future Prospects

There is no doubt that the country is getting ready for the next advance. Our workers are daily on the increase as a glance through the pages of *Man in India*, so ably managed and edited by our good friend Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy and his associate, well indicates. Mr. Roy has been holding up the banner of progress most energetically and our thanks are due to him for his endeavours to help the cause of Anthropology in India. In this State, *The Journal of the*

Mythic Society has been the means of bringing co-workers together in this field of research. The Society maintains a section devoted to Ethnology and its work has attracted wide attention. Still a great deal remains to be done. The day when our Universities could organize expeditions for the study of Anthropological research, as the European and American Universities and learned societies do, is still in the future. Meanwhile, let us hope that annual meetings of this kind will help to create public opinion in favour of increased and unceasing research in regard to the study of man, his past and present. As the poet puts it, "the proper study of mankind is man" himself and, without that study, the progress of man is bound to be halting to a degree. So

Together let us beat this ample field,
 Try what the open, what the covert yield ;
 The latent tracts, the giddy heights, explore
 Of all who blindly creep, or sightless soar ;
 Eye nature's walks, shoot folly as it flies,
 And catch the manners living as they rise ;
 Laugh where we must, be candid where we can ;
 But vindicate the ways of God to man.
 Say first, of God above, of man below,
 What can we reason, but from what we know ?

* * * *

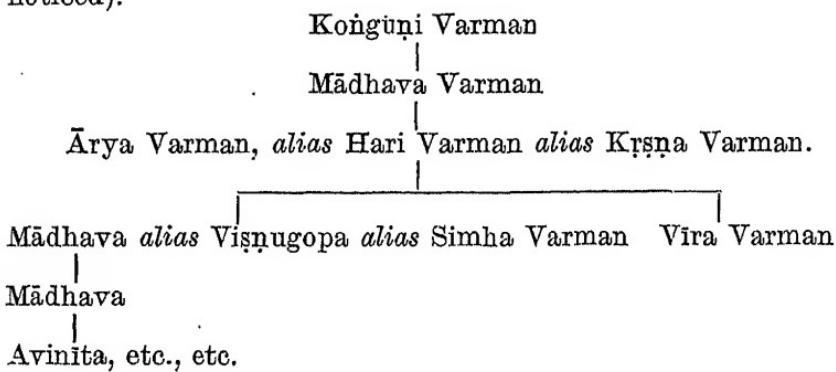
Observe how system into system runs,
 What other planets circle other suns,
 What varied beings every star.

THE GĀNGAS OF TALAKKĀD AND THEIR KONGU ORIGIN.

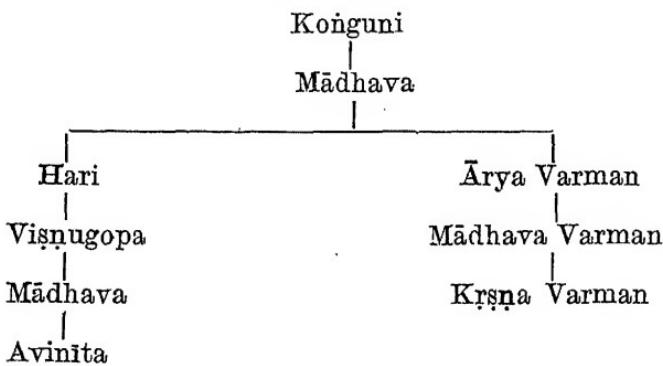
BY S. V. VISWANATHA.

THE origin of the Gaṅga line of kings in Mysore territory appears to be even more obscure than the history and chronology of the dynasty. An account of this family of kings was constructed long ago by Mr. Rice and Dr. R. A. Narasimha-char, based on some copper-plate inscriptions, the earliest of which (*e.g.*, Mercara and Nāgamangala Plates) were considered for long as spurious documents. There was, therefore, quite a heated controversy in regard to the Gaṅgas, down to Avinita, though a certain amount of clarity in fundamental points appears to have been reached, specially, about the later kings of the dynasty. The difficulty in respect of the problem was considerably enhanced, because of the wide variations in the genealogical lists furnished by the grants on examination by the Mysore Archaeological Department, and as these did not agree with the list as preserved in a classical verse dealing with the kings of the dynasty: *Koṅguṇir Mādhavaschaiva Hariścha Viṣṇugopamah*: *Mādhavopyavinitāścha*, etc. As a solution out of the difficulty, Dr. Dubreuil suggested in his “Dekhan,” a collateral branch of the family, which was distinct from the original line of Talakkād, and called it the Paruvi line. Some Gaṅga inscriptions discovered by Dr. Śāma Śāstri disclosed a few more names of kings, Kṛṣṇa Varman and his sons Simha Varman and Vira Varman. Hence, he was not satisfied with the conclusion of the Professor at Pondichery and found the necessity for another short line of sovereigns, which he called the Kaivāra branch. In the *Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for 1929–30*, an attempt has been made to sum up the position so far. To give a short shrift to the tedious and extensive lines of enquiry involved, it will be best to present the conclusions reached up to the time of the king Avinita in the following genealogical tables:—

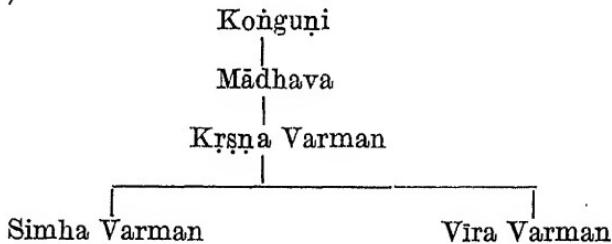
A.— One family (mainly based on Devarahalli stone inscriptions, Kūḍātūr grant of Mādhava, and Keregallūr Plates of Mādhava taken along with the inscriptions previously noticed).



B.— Second branch (Paruvi)—Dubreuil, based on Penu-konda and Bendigānahalli Plates.



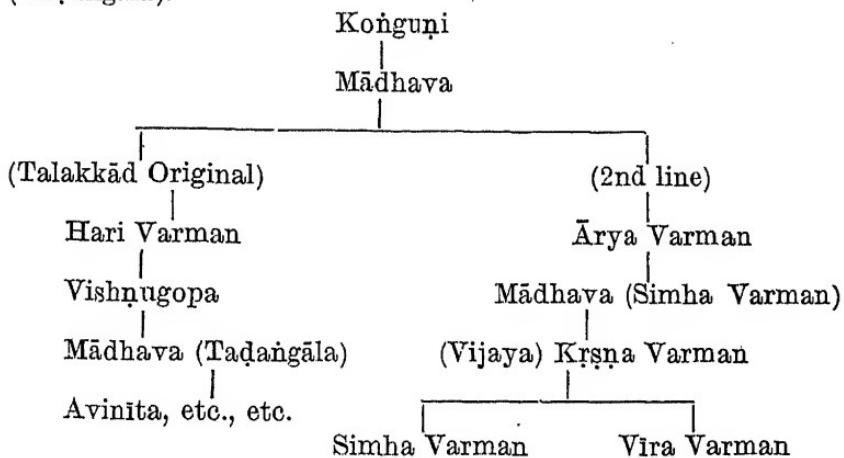
C.— The third branch (Dr. Śāstri) (Chukutṭūr Plate) (Kaivāra).



The possibility, as suggested by Dr. M. H. Krishna, of taking the Gaṅga family as made of only one stock, against the results of Dr. Dubreuil and Śāma Śāstri, and based on

the assumption that Hari Varman had the surnames Ārya and Kṛṣṇa and that Viṣṇugopa had the aliases Mādhava and Simha is little more than a surmise and does not seem to be warranted by the available evidence. Nor does there appear to be a necessity or adequate basis for the formation of a third collateral line, as Dr. Śāstri would have.

The correct genealogy of the Gaṅgas, as far as the evidence available will help us to frame, would seem to be as follows : To give the line as far as the time of Avinita, the son of Mādhava (Tadaṅgāla).



Kṛṣṇa Varman of Table C and his two sons, figuring as the son and grandsons of Mādhava *alias* Simha Varman. As the branch line became extinct with the death of Vira Varman, the only recognised line of the West Gaṅgas was what was known as the Talakkād line, which became one again with Mādhava the father of Avinita.

The entire position was summed up by Mr. Narasimhachar in 1922 with reference to the Kūdalūr Plates of Māra Simha, the longest record as yet discovered.

"The Gaṅgas ruled over the greater part of the present Mysore country, their territory being known as Gangavādi, a ninety-six thousand province. The existing Gangādikāras, properly Gangavādikāras, who form the largest section of the agricultural population of Mysore even now, represent their

former subjects. Their earliest capital was Kuvalāla or Kolar, situated to the west of the Pälär river in the eastern part of Mysore. The capital was subsequently removed to Talakkād on the Kāveri, which continued as such until its capture by the Coṭas at the beginning of the eleventh century when the Gaṅga sovereignty came to an end. Though Talakkād was the permanent capital, the royal residence was removed to a more central position at Manne or Mānyapura to the north-west of Bangalore in the eighth century in the time of Śripuruṣa during whose long reign the Gaṅga kingdom may be said to have reached the height of prosperity. The Gaṅgas are stated to be of the Jānhaviya family and of the Kaṇvāyana-gotra, and are usually styled Konguṇivarma-dharma-mahādhīrāja (or mahārājādhīrāja). They had an elephant for their crest. The titles Satyavākya and Nitimārga are, as a rule, applied alternately to the later kings. The foundation of the Gaṅga kingdom is attributed to the agency of a Jaina teacher of the name of Simha Nandi. The chronology suggested by Professor Jouveau-Dubreuil on Page 107 of his *Ancient History of Deccan* appears to be reasonable and may be provisionally adopted.”—(*Calcutta Oriental Conference Proceedings.*)

The following points of interest are brought out in the foregoing account of the dynasty:—

The association of the origin of the dynasty with a Jaina teacher Simha Nandin, and with the Jānhaviya-kula.

The kings bore for their title Konguṇivarma-dharma-mahādhīrāja (or mahārājādhīrāja) and had the elephant for their crest.

The question of their original capital—Talakkad or Kolar

The Pallava intervention in the political history of the dynasty had not been sufficiently noticed in Mr. Narasimhachar's summary. It is stated in both the Penu-konda and the Kūḍalūr Plates that Ārya Varman was duly installed on the throne by Simha Varman the Pallava Mahārāja and his son by the illustrious Pallava king Skanda Varman.

(A.R., Madras, 1913-14.) Perhaps there was some dispute in regard to the succession after Mādhava I, as a result of which Ārya Varman was placed as the head of another line, with the aid of the Pallavas. As this "Pallava-Gaṅga" line became extinct after Vira Varman, the dynasty was continued as one stock from the time of Mādhava Tadangāla. This Pallava intervention which appears to receive some support from the assumption of such names as Viśnugopa and Simha Varman by the early kings of the Gaṅga dynasty, not to mention the general title "Varman," could be accounted for only on the supposition that the territory over which the sovereignty of the Gaṅgas was recognised may have originally belonged to the Pallavas under whom they should have held a position of vassalage. The Halsi Plates state (*Ind. Ant.*, VI, 25) that the Kadamba king was a "very fire of destruction of the Pallavas" while mentioning his war with the Gaṅgas, who were obviously their allies. Our evidence seems thus to establish clearly the Gaṅga-Pallava relationship from the earliest times in the history of a branch of the Gaṅga family. As it is found that political alliances between dynasties of kings depended on marriage alliances, it is not improbable that even the first king of the Gaṅga family had taken to wife a princess from the Pallava line. The Pallavas do not appear to have possessed any territory or to have extended their rule over the Mysore country, in any period of their history. It is also noteworthy that the Pallava overlordship is attested by the grants of two of the earliest kings of the Gaṅga dynasty. Whence came the relation of the Pallavas and the Talakkād country? This has perhaps to be sought elsewhere and not in Mysore. Mr. Narasimhachar says that the seat of government of the Gaṅgas was originally Kuvalālapura or Kolar from which it was changed to Talakkād. It is not possible for him to say who effected the change and why. On the other hand, some of the earliest grants of the dynasty state that the first king was enthroned at Skandapura.

The Salem District included in the Koṅgu region and probably the most important portion of it is practically divided

into two parts, the northern half watered by the Pinākini and the southern half by the Kāveri. The southern portion was and is even now known as Tala-ghat ; while the Hosur Taluk in the north which fringes on Mysore is styled as Bāla-ghat. This northern portion was in very ancient times in the possession of the Kurumbas who preceded the Pallavas and the southern part was held by their neighbours, the kings of Kongu. By the fifth century A.D., the Kongu kings seem to have pushed forward as far as Nandi-durga and they are seen later to have been actually in possession of Harihar in the centre of the Mysore country. (Sewell, II.) This invasion of the Kongus, whatever be the circumstances that necessitated it, should have taken place only through the Pallava territory and not without the connivance of or resistance from these neighbours, hostile to them by the simple rule of nature, as stated by Kauṭilya and other framers of Hindu political codes. The alliance of the Gaṅgas of Mysore and the Pallavas and the fact of the anointment of two early kings of the Gaṅga dynasty by contemporary Pallava sovereigns amply bear out the assumption that the Pallavas should have helped Konguni Varman to establish himself at Talakkād in Mysore.

The Kongu dynasty of kings was in existence from at least as early as the commencement of the Christian era. The *Kongu-Dēśa-Rājākkal* gives the following list of early Kongu kings, whose dates are uncertain :—

Vira Rāya Cakravartin	|
Govinda Rāya	
Krṣṇa Rāya	|
Kāla Vallabha	
Govinda Rāya	|
Kannara (Kumāra) Deva	
Tiru Vikrama	

The very name Koṅguṇi Varman of the first of the Gaṅga kings, the recurrence in the Gaṅga list of a few names of the early Koṅgu kings and the assumption by them of the title Koṅguṇivarma-dharma-mahādhirāja indicate clearly that these kings were of Koṅgu extraction. It is also of some interest that Tiru Vikrama of the Koṅgu family is stated in tradition as recorded in the *Koṅgu-Dēśa-Rājākkal*, as having been enthroned at Skandapura, where the first of the Gaṅga family was also enthroned, according to the earliest copper-plate grant of the family. To be distinguished from the old family of Koṅgus, they called themselves the "Gaṅgas" and traced their ancestry to the Jānhaviya kula which is only the family name in Sanskritised form. The seat of their capital Talakkād shows likewise that it may have been derived from that of their ancestors in the Koṅgu country. Obviously, Koṅguṇi and his family represented the immigrants into the northern country from Koṅgu Dēśa, which was under the sovereignty of the Pallavas of Kāñchipuram. When he set up an independent family in the new capital, he was perhaps only a vassal of the contemporary Pallava king. The foundation of this new line of kings in the Mysore country was due to the encouragement and support of the Pallavas ; and was perhaps set up on the model of the old royal family at Tala-ghat in the Koṅgu country. The above details might offer an explanation why the first Gaṅga grants looked spurious and of doubtful authenticity.

From the *Koṅgu-Dēśa-Rājākkal*, we learn that three early kings of the dynasty, Kāla Vallabha, Govinda and Kannara Deva, had for their minister a Jaina by name Nāga Nandi (*J.R.A.S.*, VIII). The Udayendiram grant of Hastimalla states that the Gaṅga line owed its greatness to one Simha Nandi ; and numbers 67 and 397 from Śravana Belgola that "the sharp sword of meditation of the venerable *arhat*, which cuts asunder the row of stone pillars, the hostile army of the *ghāti* sins was vouchsafed by Simha Nandi Muni to his disciple (Koṅguṇi Varma) also. Otherwise, how was the solid stone pillar, which barred the road to the entry of the goddess of

sovereignty, capable of being cut asunder by him with his sword?" Whether there was any relation between Nāga Nandi, the minister and preceptor of the early Koṅgus and Simha Nandi, it is not possible to ascertain. Probably, they belonged to the same *Guru-parampara*. But the mention of Jaina teachers in both cases as having been responsible for the foundation and strength of these kingdoms appears to be another point not to be dismissed as being a mere accident.

A word seems to be demanded on the insignia of the Gaṅga family which is the "elephant". The Koṅgus were famous for their fleet of elephants, as is brought out by the *Koṅgu-Dēśa-Rājākkal*. To cite only one instance from Gaṅga history in support of this, Butuga I is described as routing the Koṅgus and taking their elephants, the capture being effected by the ancient method adopted according to the *Pañchavāri*, acceptedly a South Indian treatise on the science of capture and training of elephants. It may not be unreasonable to suppose that the elephant crest of the Gaṅgas of Talakkād was itself a borrowing from their ancestors in the Koṅgu country.

Mr. Sewell makes a surmise that the Gaṅgas of Mysore came following the earliest known kings of the Koṅgu Dynasty (*Lists of Antiquities*, II, 190); but could not pursue the point further to supplement or substantiate it. The very origin of the dynasty from "Gaṅga" and the assumption of their affinity to the dubious Jānhaviya kula, against the facts stated above, may show well enough that it was meant to distinguish this line from the early Koṅgus and in their anxiety to have a separate title for themselves. It would appear from what has been indicated above that the Gaṅgas of Talakkād were only a continuation of the Koṅgu family and their history a later chapter of that of the kings of Koṅgu Dēśa.

STUDIES IN BIRD-MYTHS

No. XLVIII

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

[On a Tibetan Didactic Myth about the Outwitting of the Crow by a Frog]

THE Tibetans are a Mongoloid race of people inhabiting Tibet which is situated to the north of the Himalaya mountains. They are Buddhist by religion and have many quaint manners and customs. They have an interesting mass of folklore. Among others, they narrate the following didactic myth about the outwitting of the Crow by a Frog. It is as follows :—

THE FROG AND THE CROW

Once upon a time, a crow caught a frog and flew to the roof of a house to eat him. The crow was about to eat him when the frog said : "My father, who is very powerful and lives near by, will kill you if you eat me." So the crow removed him to another part of the roof and was about to eat him. Then the frog said : "My uncle, who is very powerful, and lives close by, will kill you if you eat me." So the crow flew with the frog to the edge of a well and was about to eat him. Then the frog said : "O crow, if you whet your beak upon that stone yonder, you will be able to eat me very easily." Hearing this, the crow flew off to a distant stone to whet her beak. As soon as this was done, the frog leapt down into the water of the well. After the crow had returned, she did not find the frog. Thinking him to be in the well, she said : "O Frog, come as I have now whetted my beak." But the frog tauntingly said : "O sister crow, I cannot get up the sides of the well." So saying, the frog dived into the water of the well, and disappeared. Thus the crow was outwitted by the frog.*

*Vide the folktale entitled : "*The Frog and the Crow*" in *The Folktales of All Nations*. Edited by F. H. Lee. Published by George G. Harrap & Co., London, 1931, page 920.

From a study of the foregoing myth, we find that :—

(a) It is a didactic story and points the moral that even large and powerful creatures like the crow may be outwitted by such insignificant beings like the frog.

(b) Similarly, stories pointing the aforesaid moral are current among many races of people all over the globe. I have already dealt with them in my paper entitled "*On Some Beast Apologues of a New Type*" which has been published in *Man in India*, Vol. VI, pages 14-25.

(c) The aboriginal inhabitants of the island of Papua or New Guinea narrate a similar myth entitled "*The Ant and the Pheasant*" in which the birds are defeated by such an insignificant creature as an ant.

(d) The crow which is referred to in this myth must be the jungle crow (*Corvus Macrothy uchus*) which inhabits the Himalayan region and therefore must also be a denizen of Tibet.

(e) From this myth, we find that the Tibetans construct roofed houses and also dig wells.

STUDIES IN PLANT-MYTHS

No. XXVI

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

[The Pumpkin-Lore of the Negroes of Jamaica]

THE island of Jamaica is one of West Indies or Antilles and belongs to Great Britain. It is the largest and most important of her possessions in that quarter of the globe. It is situated ninety miles south of Cuba "The Pearl of the Antilles". The majority of the population of Jamaica consists of Negroes who are very superstitious and entertain many quaint and curious beliefs about the cultivation of plants specially about the pumpkin.

Their pumpkin-lore consists of the following belief:—"Much lore attaches to the pumpkin which is a very old favourite in Negro provision-grounds. To keep the plant from running to vine and to persuade it to go about its business of bearing fruit and of bearing gourds with meat instead of 'heavy inside' called pumpkin guts, imitative magic is employed. If a person walks about too much after or before planting pumpkin-seed, the vine will also run about over the ground without bearing anything. The thing to do is to plant the first thing in the morning before eating or drinking and after planting to sit down quietly for an hour and do nothing at all or sit down flat, fold up your legs and put a stone over your head. If the vine still seems inclined to run, send a pregnant woman to tread upon it. If you point toward young pumpkins when they are coming out, they will drop off the vine; instead gesture with the clenched fist."*

If we carefully examine the aforementioned pumpkin-lore, we will find that—

*Vide "Black Roadways," *A Study of Jamaican Folk Life*, by Martha Warren Beckwith, Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1929, pages 26-27.

(a) These beliefs are mostly based upon imitative or sympathetic magic. The Negroes of Jamaica are the descendants of the Negro slaves who were, in the olden times, brought from Africa to work in the sugarcane plantations of the West Indies. The former have inherited from their African ancestors, who were in a low plane of culture, their superstitious beliefs. Most people in a low plane of culture are great believers in imitative magic. For instance, the Australian savages for the purpose of increasing the supply of ants and ants' eggs use an ant-pole. See the photograph at page 612 of *Children's Colour Book of Lands and Peoples*, Vol. II. In the letter-press to this picture, it is stated that "To increase by magic their supply of ants and ants' eggs for food, two men decorated with white down, and having a pole to represent a tree, go through the motions of searching for ants at the imaginary roots of the pole."

Then again at page 613 of the same work, there is a photograph illustrating the Emu man engaged in his magic rites. In this picture, this magician is depicted as hoping to make Emus plentiful for the hunters of his tribe. He wears his high, slender head-dress made of twigs, the down of birds and human hair, so that he may resemble an Emu, the ostrich-like bird of Australia.

Then again the North American Indian, eager to kill a bear to-morrow, will hang up a rude grass image of one and shoot it, believing that this symbolic act will make the real one happen.*

(b) The next point of importance is the Negro belief that no one should point with his forefinger at the fruits when they are growing, lest by doing so the fruits will drop off or wither away.

It is curious to find that this Negro belief is quite similar to the Bengali Hindu belief that no body should point with his forefinger at fruits or flowers which are just budding forth

**Vide Anthropology*, by E. D. Tylor, D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., London : Macmillan & Co., Limited, 1913, page 340.

or blooming and that if anybody will do so the newly budding or blooming fruits and flowers will wither away.

I am of opinion that this belief is based on another superstition that the forefinger is poisonous or emits a poisonous influence which kills the flowers and the fruits if they are pointed at with this finger.

REVIEWS

Evolution of Hindu Moral Ideals

BY SIR P. S. SIVASWAMY AIYAR, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., LL.D.
(Published by the Calcutta University. Rs. 2-8-0 or 4s. 6d.)

THE subject for the Kamala Lectures was well chosen and the lecturer was perhaps one of the greatest living Indians who could elucidate the theme of the discourses. As lawyer, statesman, educationist and thinker, Sir Sivaswamy Aiyar's reputation is well known for half a century and Mr. Mukerjee did well to leave the subject of the lectures to the author. For, apart from its interest to the student of social history, the evolution of Hindu moral ideals has also a valuable practical bearing upon some of the problems which affect the social life and evolution of India. The Harijan movement is, for example, an instance in point. While the reforming zeal and ambition of the legislator should not outrun the limit of discretion, the Sanatanist would not be well advised in entrenching himself behind the orthodox custom and social usage as such. The legislature has to consider whether the society is ripe for a proposed change and whether public opinion supports it. That is also the basis of the Queen's Proclamation guaranteeing religious neutrality. Any enactment necessary for suppression of inhuman, immoral or cruel practices or injurious customs is not the criterion from which all proposed legislation has to be judged. Exigencies of the times form the guiding test as we know they have formed in the past for change in the rules of the Hindu Dharma Śāstras and the Hindu ethical ideals.

For the purposes of his inquiry, Sir Sivaswamy Aiyar does not consider it necessary to discuss the origin of our moral ideals in biological instincts or in the social customs and practices of primitive tribes. Nor does he go back to the ethnical origins of Hindu Society and the different streams of culture comprised in Hinduism. Much less, into the question of the Original Aryan and non-Aryan elements of Hindu culture and ethics.

Hindu Society as it existed 2,500 years ago and more, when it acquired the consciousness of a common social structure, common religious beliefs and common moral ideals furnishes a proper landmark for a beginning.

The history of the ethical ideals of the Hindus presents a few striking features. They have not remained stationary but have changed in various directions from time to time ; and there is no breach of continuity in the main web of Indian culture. No catastrophic changes mark off one period from another and again it cannot be said that any particular change is not the result of a natural process of evolution or due to the germs of change inherent in the Hindu system of thought and culture. Speculations in the fields of religion and ethics are given a wide berth. Lastly, the influence of foreign culture is noticeable more in the emphasis laid upon ideas at work and in the acceleration of the process of change than in the introduction of new ideas.

Hinduism has shown a capacity to absorb the beliefs and practices of many races and tribes and while exercising an influence upon the minds and habits of the people brought within its fold, has also been influenced by its contact with them. The laws and religion of the Hindus are mostly of Brahminical origin, in the sense that the authors were mostly Brahmans. But Hinduism as ordinarily understood connotes among other things belief in the authority of the Vedas and other sacred writings of the ancient sages, in the immortality of the soul and a future life, in the existence of a supreme god, in the theory of Karma and rebirth, in the worship of ancestors, in the social organisation represented by the four main castes, in the theory of the four stages of life and in the theory of the four *Puruṣārthas* or ends of human endeavour.

The Dharma Śāstra is practically co-extensive with the whole sphere of the duties of man. The Hindu is satisfied with tracing the origin of rules to some extent to scripture or some authoritative tradition and does not press home the question as to the rational basis of the rule. The Greek thinker's speculations were based upon the foundation of pure reason and the

attempt to discover a moral standard on a rational basis has engaged the attention of modern thinkers far more than of the ancients. In early Greek thought traditional law was supreme as it was eternal and its source was lost in the darkness out of which things come ; and in India the foundations of ethics were sought to be laid upon the firm rock of revelation. The Śruti has been handed down to us by immemorial tradition. The ethical rules laid down by the Hindu scriptures are generally in accord with the notions of morality accepted in civilised communities. The Hindu Law has not in fact been as rigid and stagnant as might have been expected from the theory of the law books.

In Chapter II are considered the changes in ethico-legal conceptions, with reference to marriage, sonship, property, liability for ancestor's debts, maintenance, inheritance, stridhana, illegitimate son's right to inherit, and exclusion from inheritance. The Hindu Law as administered in our courts, modifying the earlier views of text-writers, in consonance with the progressive views of civilised society, are summarised in a remarkable manner. The next chapter deals exclusively with woman, the estimation in which she is held, the status occupied by her in society and the treatment accorded to her. These are justly regarded as marks of the degree of civilisation and culture attained in any country. Passing on from caste and slavery dealt with in the next two chapters, we reach law and justice in Chapter VI. The social order of the Hindus was founded not upon the comparatively modern democratic principle of equality, but upon the conception of a social hierarchy based upon caste and sanctioned by religion. Then again the institution of Kingship was created by God for the protection of the people and the King was allegorically represented as an incarnation of the eight guardian deities of the world. While supposed to possess divine power, he was not above the law but bound to observe and enforce the precepts of the Dharma Śāstra and his subjects were bound to obey all lawful orders and decrees issued by him. Reference is also made to the principles of ethics governing the conduct of

duels and battles and wars. Amongst miscellaneous topics in Chapter VIII are included ahimsa, cleanliness, restriction on foreign languages and travel, penances and *Sanātanadharma*. The doctrine of Karma naturally occupies a prominent place in the evolution of Hindu moral ideals, as being one of the essential tenets of the Hindu religion and profoundly influencing Hindu thought and life. It is based upon certain beliefs and assumptions : (1) Every act or deed is followed by consequences, not merely of a physical but of a mental and moral character as well and it produces an effect upon the character, disposition, instincts and tendencies of the agent. *Samskāra* or *vāsanā* indicates the physical, mental and moral traits with which a person is imbued and which emanate from previous experiences or actions. They form part of his personality and are borne by him in his life-time and carried into a future existence. (2) The consequences of a person's acts not being fully worked out in this life demand a future life for their fruition. (3) Inequalities in worldly position conflict with our sense of justice and our conception of the benevolence of God call for an explanation compatible with the moral Government of the universe. (4) The doctrine of the immortality of the soul which justifies the belief in a future existence of the individual soul equally justifies its pre-existence. And (5) Happiness or suffering may be due to circumstances beyond man's control indeed but do not rule out the idea being derived from a former birth. Sir Sivaswamy Aiyar concedes that the doctrine of Karma is not successful in solving all the problems of good or evil but he believes it is much more than a theory. It affords at least as satisfactory a basis for morality consistent with our conception of the goodness and benevolence of God as under any other system.

Any work on the evolution of Hindu moral ideals will not be complete without a consideration of certain fundamental questions relating to the means and end of conduct, conception of duty, duty for its own sake and *adhikāribheda*. After advertiring to the charges levelled against Hindu ethics, the author proceeds to refer to some of the principles peculiar

to Hinduism. They are: (1) The doctrine of Karma, (2) Self-discipline and self-control for the regulation and co-ordination of human impulses and instincts for the perfection of character, (3) Ahimsa, (4) Kindness to lower animals, (5) Toleration, to which Svāmi Vivēkānanda drew particular attention at Chicago before the Parliament of Religions, (6) Freedom of thought, (7) Stress on obligations before rights, (8) The metaphysical doctrine of the identity of the *Ātman* or individual soul with the Brahman or Universal Soul, (9) The *Purusārthas* and (10) *Adhikāribheda*. The ethical conceptions embodied in Hindu literature have moulded the life and thought of Hindus for ages and have now been brought into contact with those of the rest of the civilised world and are undergoing transformation under the impact of new economic conditions, scientific knowledge, Western civilisation and literature and the social and political movements and ideas of Europe and America.

The joint Hindu family tended to check the growth of individualism and fostered the habit of mutual help within the family circle ; but it has proved unsuitable to modern conditions and yielded under the pressure of the influence of Western thought. Our ideas and outlook on life have been profoundly guided and controlled by the culture of the West permeating the Indian Sun. Trade and commerce, nationality and patriotism, scientific progress, expansion of knowledge, growth in numbers have all contributed towards the changed conditions of modern life in this country. These have practically reduced ritualism and ceremonial observances to a minimum and it is only occasionally they play any prominent part. The process of disintegration in the system of caste relating particularly to restrictions on occupations is complete while that concerning inter-dining is going on apace. That relating to inter-marriage is also slowly giving way in sub-sections of the main caste. Women are gaining ground and claiming equality with men. "What India needs is to realise itself, to broaden out her spiritual heritage " and "to continue to build along the same inspiring lines," without being confined to a slavish imitation of other ideals than our own—regarding ideas of private

property, economic independence of the sexes, marriage and matrimony and divorce, and a hundred other matters where India has indeed a message to give to the world.

Hindu ethics has undergone changes, though slowly and gradually in response to the varying conditions of the times. The ancient Hindus believed in the theory of cycles of growth, decay and dissolution and in the repetition of history in the Universe. There has been however on the whole a rise to a higher conception of ethical duties. Future sanctions are aids to morality and disbelief in these may not after all be an unmixed good in all stages of society.

S. S.

Archæological Survey of Mysore—Annual Report for 1931

ABOUT a dozen monuments were discovered and surveyed during the year, including a fine stone-built pond of unique design at Hulikere near Halebid and more than twice the number were resurveyed in detail including the famous Keśava Temple at Belur. Eighty out of a total number of 100 newly discovered inscriptions are published and the earliest of these is connected with the death of the famous Ganga Ruler Bhutuga.

In the Amriteśvara temple at Amritapura in the Tarikere Taluk is an inscription on a large slab set up in the south-east of the temple, claimed to be the composition of the well-known Kannada Poet Janna. Hale Sringeri Village is about two furlongs to the west of Sringeri with about one Brahman and twenty other houses. A small mud shrine contains the old Vidyāśankara Linga, about six feet high. The Vidyāśankara image is 1½ ft. high in Yoga-mudra with a sannyasi disciple on either side. Compared with this, it will be clear that the image to which I have referred in my article on "An Ancient Image at Hampi" may not be that of Vidyāśankara. In his notes on Vidyāraṇyapura, Dr. Krishna says that "Vidyāraṇya also must have been a Karnataka. But Vidyāśankara is said to have been a 'coli' since some 'colis' have set up his image in the Agrahara." This statement is evidently traditional,

picked up during the course of the inquiries but it deserves further investigation.

The detailed 're-study' of the Belur temple is worth careful perusal by the reader. The beautiful pond at Hulikere near Belur appears to have had twenty-seven niches or shrines representing the lunar constellations and it was probably constructed during the reign of the Hoysala Nārasimha about 1269 A.D. The Hoysala temple at Kubatur near Shiralkoppa is Chalukyan and belongs to about 1100 A.D. There are no definite Hoysala features and it suggests that the Hoysala borrowed the Chalukyan model with improvements thereon.

After dealing with some coins of the Vijayanagara Kings in Part III, Dr. Krishna in the next part gives a critical account of *Suktisudharnava* by Mallikarjuna, belonging to the reign of the Hoysala King Someśvara, a work which is considered to be a great anthology of old Kannada poetry. He agrees with Dr. A. Venkatasubbiah that the author of this work is identical with the composer of the inscription in the Baśral temple, dated 1237 A.D. and that he is Cidananda Mallikarjuna. Rao Bahadur Narasimhachar appears to consider Cidanandakavi and Mallikarjuna as two different individuals. His son was Kesiraja and his father-in-law Sumanobana, the general and poet of Vira-Nārasimha's Court. There is disagreement again regarding religion, *viz.*, whether he was a Jain or a Smartha Brahman. Then regarding the date, after great discussion, the view expressed is that the date of the work is c 1237 A.D. The historical information in the work is meagre but it is a unique work in Indian Kavya literature. While it has no plot, unlike the ordinary anthologies it definitely adopts the machinery of a Maha Kavya. It is a store-house of great Kannada poetry and is itself of a high literary value.

We congratulate Dr. Krishna on the excellent work which he has done during the year of the *Report* under review. The cultural side of the activities of the Mysore University is in very safe hands and the encomiums which his work has received from distinguished scholars all over the world is remarkable testimony to the work which is being conducted

under his able guidance in the Department of Archæology in Mysore.

S. S.

Archæological Survey of Mysore—Annual Report for 1932

IN the report before us, Dr. Krishna continues a detailed study of important architectural monuments in the State, Somanathpur, Talkad, Ikkeri, Keladi and Harihara being included in this survey. An important copper plate of the Ganga King Krishnavarma has been discovered and published. Attention may be drawn to the following : (1) The images of Śankara (?) and Kannappa (Plate IV) belonging to the Vaidyesvara Temple, Talkad, (2) Dhanvantari (?) (Plate VI), (3) Votive bas reliefs at Ikkeri (Plate XII), (4) Relievo portrait of a Chief and Vastupurusha in the Virabhadra Temple (Plate XIV) and (5) the image of Harihara (Plate XV). This last is a little larger than life-size and wears a *makuta* showing *jata* on the right side and *kirita* on the left, with hands disposed in the four poses. The face has a realistic appearance. We agree with Dr. Krishna wholeheartedly, that the Talgunda temple should be restored and properly preserved.

In the section relating to numismatics, a large number of coins of the Vijayanagara Dynasty has been studied and some suggestions have been made concerning the crest which appears on the earlier coins.

The most important part of the report for the year is what relates to *Vidyāranyakālajñāna* an account of which has been furnished for the first time. The details in this work are said to bear a close resemblance to what we find in the *Rājakālanirṇaya* and the *Sivatattvaratnākara* as well as the *Guruvamsa Kāvya*. The important points to note here are these: (1) Vidyāranya is different from Mādhava. (2) Harihara and Bukka were guards in the treasury of Pratapa Rudra and were serving under Kumāra Rāmanātha. (3) The Harihara princes defeated the Hoysalas. (4) Kriyāśakti was a disciple of Vidyāranya. And (5) the date of the foundation of Vijayanagara coincides with 1336 except for minor differences. It is

not possible to refer to these matters in detail here and I expect to refer to them in my articles on the "Foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire" in due course.

The reports are coming in quick succession and we hope Dr. Krishna will be enabled to bring them up-to-date.

S. S.

The Elements of Logic (in Tamil)

BY REV. FR. P. S. JNANAPRAKASAM

Balapundit, Mirisuvil, Jaffna, Ceylon

(With A Foreword by W. R. Watson, B.A., B.Sc.,
Divisional Inspector of Schools, Ceylon. Price Calico Rs. 2-8-0
and Boards Rs. 1-12-0)

DISSEMINATION of modern knowledge through the provincial vernaculars inaugurates a new era in the history of educational progress in India. Bengal proved to be a pioneer in this matter. The South Indian languages are now coming into line. In recent years books on modern subjects are being written in the Dravidian languages like Tamil, Telugu and Kannada by persons who have themselves had the benefits of modern English education. The contact these are establishing between the English-educated Indians on the one hand and the non-English-knowing people on the other is a healthy sign of the times. Modern thought can filter down to the people only through the vernacular. Popular adult education is rendered possible only in this manner. Fr. Jnanaprakasam's little book *The Elements of Logic* in Tamil is a laudable attempt in adapting Western techniques and modes of thinking to the needs of the Tamils. In this the author has been eminently successful. Within the compass of a small volume he has compressed matter that would suffice an Intermediate student preparing himself for his examination in Logic. The treatment of the subject is based on Creighton's *An Introduction to Logic*, Welton's *A Manual of Logic* and Latta and Macbeath's *The Elements of Logic*. In conveying the ideas of Modern Logic which includes Deduction based on the Aristotelian Tradition and Induction

or Scientific Method as it is treated in modern text-books on the subject, the author has succeeded in a very large measure judging from the difficulties he had to overcome, especially the one due to adopting suitable terminology in Tamil that would correspond to the terms that form the technical counters of European Logic. His studies of *Tarka Śāstra* have been of great help to him in this matter. One specially notes with delight the questions he has framed on each chapter for exercise in the subject on the lines of any good text-book of Logic in English. The list of technical terms with their Tamil equivalents and an exhaustive index add to the usefulness of the book.

We congratulate the author on his valuable contribution to the store-house of modern literature in Tamil.

M. Y.

The Tresse Iron-Age Megalithic Monument

(*Sir Robert Mond's Excavation*)

(*Its quadruple sculptured breasts and their relation to the mother-goddess cult*)

By V. C. C. COLLUM

(Oxford University Press, London. Humphrey Milford, 1935.
10s 6d.)

In this work Sir Robert Mond has undertaken, for the owner Baron Robert Surcouf, by permission of the French Ministry of Fine Arts to publish a report on the excavation of a hitherto unexcavated Allée Couverte of the Gallo-Roman period with realistic sculptures in relief of two double pairs of human breasts, etc., at Tressé, St. Mulo, together with an exhaustive comparative study of the cult responsible for the symbolism of the twin pairs of human breasts. Thirty-five plates and fourteen figures are included in the book under review.

The monument though originally noticed so far back as 1880 had not been excavated so far and the work of excavation started in 1929. A detailed account of the site, the history of the monument and the work of excavation are given. The megalithic tombs with which we are here concerned apparently belong to the degenerate megalithic engineering kind which

gives the impression of an attempt by unskilled builders to copy a type of structures rather than to follow closely a technique of construction. The author considers that structures of this kind betray the presence of human burials and these remains confirm that view. After the work of excavation was over, the remains have been rebuilt *in situ* and the monument has been restored in a safe condition for visitors. It will be unnecessary for us to consider in detail the pottery and other wares discovered on this occasion. Even though hand-made and field-turned fabrics are found contemporaneously in one tomb and pots thrown on the wheels and pots hand-fashioned are discovered simultaneously, this picture is regarded as revealing a provincial society in a comparatively highly organised industrial phase incompatible neither with the period of Domitians nor the secluded settlements of native tribesmen in the forests of Northern Armorica. It further irresistably suggests a funeral custom under which people belonging to various classes of society brought such ceramic offerings as they could afford to purchase.

More important than either of these or the metallic objects and beads or the iron one-edged sword or even the bones and the skeleton in these remains are the double pairs of human breasts sculptured in relief. The work is realistic and beautiful in its sensibility, for the two pairs on the transversal stone are the pointed breasts of a young girl and those of the western stone are the full breasts of a mother. (See Plate 21 facing p. 31; and Plate 17 facing p. 29.) The portrait studies appear to have been taken from two different young virgins in Plate 21. If it is correct to date the monument to the period of Roman intercourse with Gauls, the author says these symbols are easily explained as representing the great mother whose cult was popular in the country at the time having spread from Asia Minor, Syria and other parts. For a careful study of comparative religion and theosophy leaves no doubt that she was one and the same female principle of creation, god-head or life. This cult was as old as civilisation itself and as such flourished particularly in Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt. Further

east it was at once more theosophical in its exposition and less purely anthropomorphic in its symbolism.

For a detailed and exhaustive discussion of this subject we would refer the interested reader to the excellent work under review.

S. S.

Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology for 1933

(*Kern Institute, Leyden*)

Vol. VIII

IT is most pleasing to observe that the authorities of the Kern Institute have surmounted successfully the difficulties that lay before them and continued the useful work which they have been doing for the past several years. And we are grateful to the several donors who have responded to the appeal of the Institute for assistance.

A new feature introduced into the present volume which has reduced its bulk without affecting its usefulness consists in the employment of certain abbreviations, omission of academic and honorific titles of authors and not dealing with publications separately when they are also reviewed, unless in exceptional cases. A reference to the Bibliography does not make us realise any appreciable difference in this method from the treatment in the earlier volumes.

Amongst the excavations at Persepolis in Iran, by the courtesy of Dr. Herzfeld, has been produced a group of Indians and another of the Scythians (or Śakas). It is pointed out "that the Śaka of the tribute procession of Xerxes, although they are absolutely identical with the Sakā Tigrakhandā, are not those, but are the Sakā Paradravā of Southern Russia, somewhere near the Cimmerian Bosporus (Crimea). Of the three Indian Satrapies, only the Hindus (Sind) are represented. The animal is meant to be a wild ass, the man in front carries a flexible stick over his shoulder, not a scale. The very first figure to the right is the Persian usher, who holds by the hand the chief of the mission."

Concerning the mysterious script of the Indus Valley, attention is drawn to a paper on the "Seals of Ancient Indian Style Found at Ur" published by Mr. C. J. Gadd in the *Proceedings of the British Academy* and Mr. G. de Hevesy's startling discovery that the script of the Indus Valley shows certain analogies to that found on wooden tablets in the Easter Island has evoked considerable interest. The inscription found at the Chhadāśilā monastery in the Kalawān area in the North-West is of considerable importance as supplying a reliable basis for the dating of the Gandhāra sculptures which were discovered along with it. The volume contains a review of the progress of archæological work in different parts and we wish the survey will hereafter include Mysore also. In the Netherlands India the Northern Temple of Prambanan was completely rebuilt in 1932 and some provisional repairs carried out on the Brahmā Temple. A bronze Buddha image was discovered in the *desa* (village) of Sempaga, situated at the mouth of the Karama river, on the West Coast of Celebes. This evidently belongs to the famous School of Buddhist Art which flourished at Amravati on the river Krishna during the first centuries of the Christian era and may therefore be regarded as one of the earliest relics of the Hindu period so far known in the Malay Archipelago.

S. S.

The Gangas of Talkad

BY M. V. KRISHNA RAO, M.A., B.T.

Mysore University

(*B. G. Paul & Co., Publishers, Madras. Price Rs. 3*)

A MONOGRAPH on the Gangas of Talkad is particularly welcome at a time, when, thanks to the energetic efforts of Dr. M. H. Krishna of Mysore, more grants of an important character of the Ganga Dynasty are being discovered. Mr. M. V. Krishna Rao, the author of the book under review, has, we think, wisely refrained from entering into a discussion in detail of the thorny and complicated problems relating to the Ganga genealogy or chronology while at the same time he has indicated to some

extent the nature of these problems. In the *Mysore Gazetteer* of Mr. Rice and in the revised edition of the same by Rajacharita Visharada Rao Sahib C. Hayavadana Rao, these topics are dealt with in great detail and all arguments advanced relating to them to which also the interested reader may turn.

The Gangas ruled over Mysore and Coorg for several centuries and while their very name was once lost in oblivion, by diligent research of scholars, they have been restored to their place in history. We are grateful to Rice, Narasimhachar and Krishna Sastri, amongst others, for the knowledge that we possess of this well-known line of Mysore Kings, which brings back to us memories of an ancient greatness linking Mysore with the past and carrying Mysore forward to the times till the powerful armies of Rajaraja the Great and of the Hoysala princes put an end to the independent existence of the Gangas in the eleventh century.

There are not, unfortunately, a large number of stone inscriptions of this dynasty of the Gangas till we come towards the close of the seventh century. It is not always safe to rely on copper plates, fifty-two of which have been collected and referred to in the *Mysore Gazetteer*. Of these seventeen plates bear no dates and nine give wrong dates. Sir John Fleet once led a severe criticism against what he called the "spurious" series of Ganga plates but later on he modified his views to a very large extent and he had indeed veered round to the view of Rice. Subsequently, a number of grants have been discovered and even after the publication of the revised *Mysore Gazetteer*, we have been fortunate to discover new grants, including lithic ones. The severe tests applied by Sir John Fleet have been adopted by Narasimhachar and Ganga genealogy has been built up from the plates which have stood the exacting standard set up by Fleet. His objections to relying on several Ganga plates related to (1) the corrupt language of the record, (2) serious orthographical errors, (3) rude execution, (4) palaeographical differences, (5) long periods assigned to Kings in the record, (6) suspicious forms of the names given to the engravers of and the witnesses to grants, and (7) lack of external or internal

evidences corroborative of statements in the grants. The Penugonda Plates of Mādhava III discovered by Krishna Sastri in 1913 stood Fleet's tests and he regarded them as genuine (*J.R.A.S.*, 1915, pp. 471-472) and Rice wrote about them (*Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 340). In all probability, even the spurious plates while forged perhaps regarding the operative portion of the grants, *i.e.*, gifts, did really embody the tradition relating to genealogy and were copies of or from genuine grants. Difference amongst scholars has now shifted to the details concerning Ganga genealogy and chronology.

The Gangas were a line of kings who probably came originally from the north and settled down at Perur whence they advanced in succeeding generations towards Mysore. The accredited founder of the Ganga Dynasty was one Konguni-varma, an appellation borne by almost all the later Ganga rulers. Mr. S. V. Visvanatha, in an article published in this issue, attempts to trace a connection between the founder of the Ganga Dynasty and the Kongus. There is no reason to disbelieve the existence of a Ganga Dynasty up to the time of Durvinita even though there have been disputes in the past about the genuineness of the Mercara and Nagamangala Plates. Prof. Dubreuil suggested that there was a Paruvi line distinct from the original or Talkad branch. Dr. Shama Sastri on the basis of his discoveries showed that there was one Krishna-varman and his sons Simhavarman and Vira Varman and suggested that he started the Kaivara branch. The lake plates lend support to the theory of Dr. Shama Sastri that there were three different branches springing from Mādhava I. Possibly, the genealogical tables would have to be reconciled whether there are two lines or three. As I have stated elsewhere,¹ "In dealing with the inscriptions of the year (1930), Dr. Krishna has taken advantage of the publication of the Keregälür Plates of Mādhava II who established Sangamapura in Sendrakavishaya to review the important records 336 and 88 of the Western Gangas, each with a different genealogy. There are difficulties

¹ *Q.J.M.S.*, Vol. 25, pp. 315-18.

in accepting the theory that the dynasty was only one. To hold that the dynasty of the Penugonda Plates is different from that of the Keregälür Plates would be based upon two assumptions : (1) that Krishnavarma of the Penugonda Plates became independent of the Pallava yoke though his father and grandfather were crowned by the Pallava overlords ; and (2) that the reigns of four generations of this branch equalled in length two of the Talkad branch. Hence comes the third view that there were three distinct branches of the Gangas." Then, "The dynasty mentioned in the Keregälür and Mārasimha Plates, which was perhaps the main branch, was described from Kongunivarma and Mādhava I, through Harivarma whose son was Vishnugopa. Vishnugopa's son was Tadangāla Mādhava or Mādhava II who granted the Keregälür Plates and who was the father of Avinita. This Avinita of the Talkad branch appears to have acquired possession of the Paruvi area. It is also possible that the Ganga empire was divided, after the death of Mādhava I, perhaps owing to a disputed succession between his sons Harivarma, Krishnavarma and Āryavarma, who got respectively Talkad, Kaivara and Paruvi. The Pallava Emperor Simhavarma probably intervened on behalf of Āryavarma and crowned him. The separation of the kingdoms appears to have existed for two or four generations between 400 and 500 A.D. However, it was the Talkad Dynasty which ultimately won the mastery."² Dr. Krishna further says that this theory has also its weak points. No. 36 (Devarahalli Inscription) is important in Ganga history as being the first lithic record of early times in which the Ganga genealogy is traced to the time of Sivamāra and the genealogy given therein closely follows that of the Talkad Gangas found in numerous copper plates but not the special genealogy mentioning Āryavarma and Krishnavarma as in the Penugonda and Bendigana-halli Plates but in No. 88 (the Kudlur Plates) of Mādhavavarma the genealogy is identical with that given in the Penugonda Plates. Whether it is possible to reconcile these conflicting

² *M.A.R.*, 1930, pp. 123-24.

views and establish that these rulers all belonged to one stock is more than can be stated from the present materials. We cannot assert that Mādhava and Simha are *aliases* for Vishnugopa and that Ārya and Krishna were the surnames of Hari-varma. We have to accept the view of Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar expressed with reference to the Kudlur Plates.

The Gangas belonged to the Jānhavēya or Gangakula. Their country, Gangavadi, was also called Srirājya. It is certainly very difficult to say that the Gangas represent a Kānva offshoot in the south of India. Kolar was the chief city at the time of the foundation and the capital was later shifted to Talkad. In the seventh century Mankunda and in the eighth Manne were their residential capitals. The important dates of this dynasty depend upon an interpretation of the earlier copper plates with corroborative evidences from lithic records and from the prolific literature of the period. The date of Mādhava I himself would have to be fixed from his close association with the Jain guru Simhanandin, a contemporary of Samantabhadra. Even the true historical section from Kiriya Mādhava II to Mushkara has to be worked out from copper plates. In the sixth and seventh centuries the Ganga invasions continued on neighbouring territories and they were later on extended east and south. They were themselves attacked on the north-west by the Chalukyas. Mahavalis or Banas in the eastern parts of Mysore, on the east and north of the Palar river in the Mulbagal Taluk, were subdued under Hastimalla about the end of the ninth century.³ They had been previously defeated and put into confusion in the last quarter of the eighth century. But it was Prithvīpathi II, great-grandson of Sivamāra I who completed the conquest and earned the proud distinction of Bānādhirāja from the Cola King Parāntaka in 921 A.D. Likewise, Nolambavadi which has given a name to the Vokkaligar Community of the northern and eastern parts of Mysore was made part of the Ganga dominions. The Nolamba Pallavas of the Kannada country

³ I.A., XIII, pp. 6, 187.

trace their origin to Mahendravarman III. The Ganga King Sripurusha retook Kādavetti of the Pallavas, seized their umbrella and became Permānadi. The Nolambas intermarried with the Gangas and the Chalukyas and were powerful in the ninth and tenth centuries. The Ganga King Mārasimha destroyed their power and influence about 974 A.D.

The late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri worked out from the Vētūrpālaiyam and Bāhūr Plates a branch of the Pallava Dynasty from Nandivarman II Pallavamalla to Aparājita, termed the Gangapallava, to distinguish it from Simhavishnu and the other branches.⁴ From the Penugonda Plates of the Western Ganga King Mādhava *alias* Simhavishnu, identified with the early Ganga ruler Tadangāla Mādhava, we can trace certain close intimate relationships between the Gangas and the Pallavas of this period. Tadangāla Mādhava was the banner of the Gangeya race. Admittedly the Ganga rulers of this period were the feudatories of the Pallavas, and as Pallava Kings crowned the later Ganga rulers like Sivamāra Saigotta and the younger son of Avinita, the Pallavas must have claimed to have been their overlords. Again, certain rulers named Vijaya Skanda Sishya Vikramavarman and Vijaya Īshvaravarman of the latter half of the ninth century were probably the successors of the Gangapallavas.⁵ After the Gangas were overthrown by the remarkable successes of the Cola Kings, especially the successes of Rajaraja the Great and the fast developing overlordship of the Hoysalas, they continued to hold important positions under the Hoysalas and the Chalukyas. For a revival of the Ganga power we have to look elsewhere: the Eastern Gangas or the Kalinga Gangas for example, to whom there is reference in Mysore in *E.C.*, III, Bn., 140. Probably during the period of a break in the Annals of the Mysore Gangas, filled up by an "alleged" Prithvipathi, the father of Mārasimha, they left Mysore to a relative and proceeded elsewhere to found a new dynasty.

⁴ *E.I.*, IV, p. 182.

⁵ *A.S.I.*, 1906-07, p. 239.

The Karnataka Dynasty of Nepal to which Dr. Shama Sastri has referred was perhaps one such and referable to the eighth to the tenth centuries A.D.⁶

We do not know, though Mr. Krishna Rao asserts, whether the earliest inhabitants of Gangavadi were serpent worshippers or whether Saivism in its early phases was influenced by animistic or naga cults. Much less, whether there was a struggle between the Aryan gods and the non-Aryan gods for supremacy. Likewise, whether Siva represents the non-Aryan or Turanian element in Hinduism by his intimate connection with the earth, as Lord of the Mountains and Master of the Ghosts. We do know, however, that Jainism was the prevailing religion while there was a marked toleration of Brahmanism, Buddhism and other religious faiths. The Pāsupathas, Kāpālikas and Kālamukhas also enjoyed a certain vogue in the country. The chapters relating to Religious life and Architecture and sculpture in Gangavadi were first dealt with by Mr. Krishna Rao in the papers read before the Mythic Society and since published in the *Q.J.M.S.*

Any account of the social life in the Ganga period has necessarily to be conjectural, based upon the knowledge that we are able to obtain from lithic records, literature of the period and art and architecture. We are thankful to Mr. Krishna Rao for a running and connected account he has given on this subject and on Ganga administration, gathered from the several sources already adverted to. The distinctive contribution of the Gangas, quite apart from the ancient Hindu usages and customs and polity does not appear to be considerable or even appreciable if we are to judge from the standpoint of the Mauryas, the Guptas, the Colas, the Hoysalas or the Vijayanagara Kings. Apparently, the disturbed condition of their country and the constant wars left little scope to develop their individuality ; but nevertheless we must remember with gratitude the prolific literary output of this important period of Mysore history.

⁶ *M.A.R.*, 1926; *Q.J.M.S.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 226.

Siva and Vishnu Temples and Jain Basadis were in abundance. Brahman settlements, Vidyasthānas or Colleges for the encouragement of learning—particularly Sanskrit education—, temple assemblies for settlement of internal differences as well as disputes of a graver or political character were well known. The village was the unit of administration. Life in the village centred round the temple which ministered to the spiritual and temporal needs of the people. They could apply to the temple authorities in need, in times of economic or other distress. Oftentimes, the temple authorities purchased the lands of the people on what we may now describe as a conditional sale or mortgage by conditional sale and paid off the arrears on the land. Amusements were provided in the temple in addition to general instruction. These temple assemblies and village *sabhas*, not unoften, excercised a wholesome and healthy check on the cupidity or vagaries of rulers and influenced literary activity of a high order. Mathas were attached to temples. The social instinct was highly developed in the people and there was sufficient protection for society against malefactors.

Owing to the hurry in publication referred to in the preface, several errors have crept into the book under review. References ought properly to be relegated into the footnotes or to the close of the chapter, to facilitate easy reading and there should be uniformity in the spelling of proper names. Besides, we wish the genealogy and the map were fuller and more illuminating. We wish Mr. Krishna Rao will avoid these blemishes and simplify the launguage in revising the work for a subsequent edition.

The book under review fulfils a long-felt want and makes a valuable addition to a library on South Indian history.

S. S.

The Divine Pymander of Hermes Trismegistus
(Shrine of Wisdom, London)

WE are obliged to the editors for a second edition of this excellent work. For, it "is a book most choice for the elegance of its language, most weighty for the abundance of its information, full of grace and propriety, full of wisdom and mysteries. It contains the profoundest mysteries of the most ancient theology, and the arcana of all philosophy." The manual before us represents a successful endeavour to systematise and to unfold something of the significance of the writings attributed to Hermes Trismegistus ; and lays emphasis on the more primary and important fundamental truths contained in the work.

The soul is the principal whereby God eternally vivifies the Cosmos. Soul acts upon matter, through the medium of nature, which depends upon soul. But soul, in turn, depends upon Nous, and Nous depends upon God.

There are three heads, God, the Cosmos and man. The Cosmos is for man's sake and the latter is for God's. "From one source all things depend but the source is from the one and only. God doth contain the Cosmos ; the Cosmos containeth man. The Cosmos is the offspring of God and man, as it were, is the offspring of the Cosmos. The Cosmos is, indeed, from God, and in God ; but man, of the world and in the world. The beginning and the end and the constitution of all things is God."¹ The first head or idea is thus the subject of theology and is the highest of all sciences and includes the causes of all real beings, ideas and world. The second is the subject of Cosmology, signifying the solar system and the Universe. In *Pymander*, it includes all worlds and universes—subjective and objective—all planes, sub-planes, spheres and regions, of existence and activity. But it does not include the Divine Natures and ruling intelligences who operate in the various worlds. And it does not include man who is something more, potentially, though a microcosm of the macrocosm.

¹ X, 14 and VIII, 5.

The last head is the study of man and the view is anthropological.

God must be considered (1) as the unmanifest, (2) as the most manifest and (3) as the unmanifest and at the same time most manifest. God is therefore transcendental : He is undifferentiated : and He is the transcendental unmanifested good to which all things aspire. Being in all, and there being nothing without Him, He is necessarily the most manifest. He is immanent but there is a distinction between Him and the things He creates. The latter are of and from Him and cannot subsist without Him but He is not in need of them and can subsist without them. Thus, God's manifestations are His acts or operations and cannot really be separated from Himself. He acts by virtue of being what He is and what He creates exist by virtue of His operations. Since all creation ceaselessly manifests His power, He is the most manifest one. The last is paradoxical but true and God is both unmanifest and the most manifest and this conception embodies a whole truth of which the dual separate statements are but partial aspects.

The orderly sequence of the cosmological progression of the unmanifest into the manifest is unfolded in a speech which is given in the text. Since eternity is in God and the Cosmos in eternity, there must necessarily be an unmanifested aspect of the Cosmos, regarded from the standpoints of time and space. But since time is in the Cosmos and Generation is in time, there is a manifested aspect.

S. S.

Archæological Survey of India—Annual Report for 1929-30

APART from progress in all its varied spheres of activity, the year under review is important in many respects. Referring to his excavations on the Sirkap site in Taxila, Sir John Marshall has no doubt that the Parthian city on this side must have been destroyed by the Kushāns shortly before 64 A.D. though the actual date may not be absolutely certain. The discoveries included an interesting relief representing wingless Eros and Psyche in gold *repoussé*, pendants, etc., all of gold.

Further digging revealed valuable evidence concerning the various dynasties that had occupied this site from the beginning of the third century B.C. At Mohenjodaro, amongst the probable antiquities revealed during the excavation are: (1) a razor with two edges, one straight and the other curved, which in general shape is similar to certain Egyptian examples ; (2) an amulet bearing on the reverse an incised design of a vulture with out-stretched wings and human feet similar to the one found at Harappa in 1924-25 ; (3) an impression of a boss seal depicting a buffalo surrounded by a number of dead bodies and resembling archaic examples from Mesopotamia ; (4) an amulet, the first of the kind found at Mohenjodaro so far, showing certain resemblances to the Egyptian sign for stability ; (5) a medallion with a figure of the single-horned animal ; and (6) a seal impression representing a buffalo about to be trans-fixed with a spear by a man. It has been now established that the Indus valley culture was not confined to that region alone and in the course of his regular survey for over 2,000 miles extending from the delta of the river Indus northward as far as the Sukkur District, Mr. N. G. Mazumdar has surveyed over one hundred mounds and old sites, three of these at least belonging definitely to the Chalcolithic period. The excavations at Nagarjunikonda brought to light two more stupas similar in plan to the great stupa built by the lady Chantisiri.

Sir John Marshall in his article on the excavations at Taxila says that the destruction of the Parthian city on this site was attended by some sudden and dire calamity in which many of the citizens must have been killed or driven permanently from their homes : and that undoubtedly this was at the hands of the invading Kushāns, shortly before 61 A.D. The presence of the coins of the last Greek King Hermaios, of Kadphises, and of Hermadis with Kadphises in Sirkap has been beautifully and clearly explained. They do not, as they may appear at first sight, suggest the conquest of Taxila by Kujūla Kadphises himself—perhaps with the help of Hermaios—in the earlier half of the first century A.D., *i.e.*, possibly between the reigns of Azes and Gondopharnes. Early in his career, Kujūla

Kadphises possessed himself of Kābul, about 25 A.D. and afterwards he occupied Pu-ta and Kipin and assumed the title of Mahārāja Rājādhirāja. Subsequently, the Parthians of Taxila whose territories had been invaded by Kujūla Kadphises retaliated by themselves occupying the Kābul valley and these Kābul coins thus found their way to Taxila during the Parthian domination there. The mistake hitherto made is said to have been in assuming that it was the Parthians who made an end of the Greek power in Kābul and the Kushāns who in their turn drove out the Parthians. According to Marshall, the fact seems to be that the Kābul valley was an important bone of contention between the Parthians and Kushāns and that probably it changed hands more than once before the final eclipse of the Parthian power.

The precious hoards of jewellery, etc., found at Taxila constitute one large and homogeneous collection representative of Parthian culture in India in the middle of the first century A.D. The Roman and Armenian picture of the Parthians as half barbarians, chiefly renowned for their skill as horsemen or with the bow is defective and one-sided. They were not only fine warriors but an energetic, progressive and highly civilised nation, inheriting much of the culture and refinement of both Greece and Persia. "Philhellenes" was no empty boast claimed by the Arsacids but they were greatly influenced by the hellenistic art and hellenistic ideas in general. The Śakas had formed part of the Parthian Empire also and whatever the Kushāns had of Græco-Roman ideas or Græco-Roman culture must have come to them by way of Parthia.

In referring to the Śittaannavāśal cave inscriptions, there is a suggestion that the cave was excavated by the Pallava King Mahendravarman I and if this be so it is said that the cave must have come into existence during the early part of his reign, when he was still a devotee of Jainism.

In the museum section, Rai Bahadur Ramprasad Chanda discusses the origin of the image of Buddha, a subject of keen controversy and in his discussion of this subject refers to the Buddha type as well as the Gandhāra type of figure sculpture

which at last clearly discloses Greek influence. He says that the Madhura type of Dhāyana-yogin is an independent creation and not based on the Gandhāra type.

S. S.

Sayings of Basavanna

BY M. VENKATESA IYENGAR

(*Veerasaiva Tarunara Sangha, Gadag, 1935.* As. 8)

THE author has already given us the sayings of Basavanna published in the *Q. J. M. S.* and we are very glad that they are now put together in book form so that the noble character, the earnest faith and the sincere devotion to truth of Basavanna may be more widely known.

S. S.

Census of India. Vol. I—India

Part III. Ethnographical

BY B. S. GUHA

(*Govt. Press, Simla, Rs. 7–10–0 or 3s.*)

IN this volume “the racial affinities of the peoples of India” is written by Guha and “ethnographic notes by various authors” edited by J. H. Hutton. Guha’s attempt is easily the most important contribution to physical anthropology of India since Sir Herbert Risley’s. Some of Risley’s conclusions were unsatisfactory and largely open to doubt and the discoveries at Mohenjodaro have disproved a conception of India largely isolated from the rest of Asia and inhabited entirely by barbarous tribes prior to the Aryan invasion of India about 1500 B.C. After a discussion of the problem from the latest scientific standards of the day, the summary of the results is set forth in pp. lxix-lxxi of the introduction enabling us to visualise the broad outlines of the racial history of India in the early times. From the beginning of the fourth millennium B.C., N.-W. India seemed to have been in the occupation of a long-headed race with high cranial vault, long face and narrow prominent nose. We find alongside, the existence of another

very powerfully built race also long-headed, but with lower cranial vault, and equally long-faced and narrow-nosed, though the latter was not so high pitched as that of the former. A third type with broader head and apparently Armenoid affinities also existed but whose advent occurred probably somewhat later judged by the age of the site at Harappa from which most of these latter types of skulls came. The presence at Bayana of a small, long, and moderately high vaulted skull with prominent nose seems to indicate that a drift of this race eastwards had taken place even earlier and the whole of the Indo-Gangetic basin seems to have been in its occupation as early as these times. They had not penetrated into Southern India at this early period. Later on in the Iron Age, the Peninsula seems to have been occupied by a long but high-skulled race with low broad face and nose, resembling the Combe Capelle type. Apparently the same people had introduced this culture into India in Neolithic times but were driven from N.-W. India into Central and Eastern India whence they migrated southwards.

Though there is no direct evidence of the Negrito race in the old skeletal remains of India the skull of a victim of human sacrifice found in a cairn at Jewurgi is unmistakably negroid. The australoid type found in the present-day Indian aborigines suggests they are the Nisadas of Vedic Aryans and Nisadic is more appropriate than pre-Dravidian, proto-australoid and vedoloid to describe them. The Combe Capelle type or a race closely allied to it entered India probably with that culture as early as Neolithic times and that forms the bulk of the population of Peninsular and a considerable portion of Northern India. The long-headed Mediterranean race constituted the major part of the Indus Valley in Chalcolithic times. In the upper classes of Northern India another strain with undoubtedly northern affinities is clearly discernible. The upper castes of Northern India retain the Nordic characters of stature, head and nose forms without the fair tint of the skin. The invasion of an Alpine race from the Pamir regions postulated by Chanda is not accepted in the light of the discoveries

at Mohenjodaro and Harappa. Concerning the results of his Indian Expedition published by Eickstedt, Guha criticises his nomenclature and also his classification and attributes his difficulties to his limited acquaintance with the somatic characters of the Indian people.

S. S.

Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India. No. 50
Śrāvasti in Indian Literature

BY DR. BIMALA CHURN LAW
(Re. 1-4-0 or 2s.)

ŚRĀVASTĪ, the ancient Kosala capital, is one of the eight great places connected with Buddha's life and specially venerated by Buddhists all over the world. It was the scene of the Great Miracle and the Jetavana monastery outside the city was for a number of years hallowed by the presence of the master. Besides, sermons and sayings attributed to him were mostly delivered here according to the sacred books. Anything concerning this holy site will be of special interest and Dr. Law gives us in this *Memoir* an account of the place collected from the Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jaina texts and commentaries and from scattered accounts left by celebrated Chinese Pilgrims. Two early inscriptions belonging to the periods contemporaneous with Kanishka or Huvishka refer to the pious donations of Bhikshu Bala. Sculptures of all the three schools are found. The place lost its importance after the thirteenth century as a centre of art and religion. The most prosperous in Buddha's time, its general prosperity was bound up with that of Kosala itself. It is also noted as the birth-place of the third Jaina Tirtankara Sambhavanātha and the eighth Chandraprabhanātha. Mahāvīra visited the city more than once. Vedic sacrifices were also regularly performed here under the auspices of the Kosala King. With all this, it must be observed that the whole city was surcharged with the influence of Buddha and Buddhism, and it continued to be a most important

Buddhist centre linking up with it the vicissitudes of a great religion for eighteen hundred years.

S. S.

**Annual Report of the Archæological Department,
The Nizam's Dominions, for 1931-33 A.C.**

THE frescoes at Ajanta discovered in Cave VI and referred to in the earlier reports were subjected to a scientific treatment during the year, and as a result the frescoes have almost regained their pristine beauty. Three old Roman gold coins were found in Suryapet Taluk, Nalgonda District. One of those belongs to Claudius and the other to Antonius. Cleaning of the frescoes at Ajanta in Caves IV, VI, VII, XVI, XIX and XXII and at Ellora continued. The conservation work at Bidar has led to the valuable discovery of a spacious square hall, fifty-one feet each way and of another vast hall 52 ft. x 63ft. east of the square hall. A new inscription in Cave XXVI at Ajanta was the most important discovery of the year. The illustrations are excellent and the report under review continues to maintain its usual standard as one of the reports which we look forward to, year after year, with eager interest.

S. S.

**Hyderabad Archæological Series. No. 12. The Kannada
Inscriptions of Kopbāl**

BY C. R. KRISHNAMACHARLU
(Rs. 3)

THE Hyderabad Archæological Series contain the publications of H. E. H. The Nizam's Government on important inscriptions discovered within the Dominions and form a valuable adjunct to the *Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India*. No. 11 in the series is in the Press and the number under review is the twelfth, containing an account of the eight Kanarese inscriptions discovered by Mr. G. Yazdani in June 1931 at Kopbāl, on the left bank of the stream Hire-Halla, a tributary of the Tungabhadra. The historical town of Koppam or

Kopāṇa referred to in several inscriptions, is now identified, conclusively it is said, with the modern town of Kopbāl, as a result of the study of these inscriptions and in this view he is supported by Kielhorn, Krishna Sastri and Narasimhachar. The town appears to have been reputed as a tirtha in 881 A.D. and is identical with Mahā-Kopāṇanagara of the Kavirājamārga of the ninth century. In subsequent periods, it became an important centre of the Jaina religion.

Kopbāl was the place where Mr. Yazdani also discovered two minor edicts of Asoka and it is 54 miles from Maski and 94 miles west of Erragidi, where also inscriptions of Asoka have been found. An inscription of the Hoysala King Viṣṇuvardhana, of 1110 A.D., states that through the benefactions of General Ganga, Ganga-vādi became like Kopāṇa. Minister Hulja made grants to the tirtha at this place.

S. S.

Second Report of the Ceylon Historical Manuscripts
Commission, September 1935

THE report contains useful appendices relating to documents in the State archives and attention may be drawn to the negotiations which culminated in the capitulations of Colombo.

S. S.

Archæological Department, Travancore : Report for 1933-34 A.D.
(1) A PREHISTORIC site containing burial urns was discovered at Pañjappath Parambu where glazed pots were found with a bead-pattern or leaf-pattern drawing. Attention may be drawn to the discoveries of an ancient necropolis near the Lal-Bagh, Bangalore, a couple of years ago. The curator of the Mythic Society (Mr. Venktesia) and myself recovered a few specimens and they are now on view at the Government Museum, Cubbon Park, Bangalore. (2) A rock-cut temple of the eleventh century with excellently carved stone images of Lakṣmi, Pārvati, Viṣṇu, Gaṇapati, and a few nāgās was found in a hilly valley three miles east of Mārayūr and a number of

dolmens round this deserted village shrine were discovered. There was also noticed a small sculptured panel of Mārkandēya embracing Śiva Linga, awed by the hunting sight of Yama and exhibiting a feeling of loneliness, sorrow, fear, resignation and fortitude with suggestions of spiritual hope. Dolmens were mostly two-chambered but some had three chambers and all were in a fair state of preservation. These dolmens are stated to be megalithic monuments belonging to the Neolithic period and "were thought of until recently to be the burial places of the mighty chiefs, or temples used by the Druids". (3) A few relics of fresco painting of about the ninth century A.D. were found on the walls of the rock-cut cave temple at Tirunandikkara in South Travancore.

Mudras or hand poses employed in Vedic chanting in Kērala are again referred to in the report and these are particularly interesting.

S. S.

Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections

Vol 94, No. 11.—Melanesians and Australians and the Peopling
of America

BY ALES HRDLICKA

ALES HRDLICKA is a well-known anthropologist whose works we have had occasion to have reviewed in the pages of the *Q.J.M.S.* After a detailed discussion of the several theories, it is considered that the hypotheses of either Melanesian or Australian, and even that of recognizable Polynesian presence on the American continent is not demonstrable, nor even probable; that the dolicho-steno-hypsi-cephalic cranium is not extraneous but represents one of the several cranial types of both the Indian and the Eskimo; and that whatever cultural or other resemblances may appear to exist between the pre-Columbian Americas and the South Seas must have other explanations than any material accession of the peoples of the latter parts of the world to the American populations. The view of one who has spent the major part of his life in somatological and medical studies

among the American natives, personally visiting over 100 tribes from cape to cape and passing through over 10,000 American crania and skeletons in his examination and who has examined a larger number of Australian skulls than any other man is entitled to the greatest weight. The morphological features of some of the American skulls have led to some suggestions but we cannot give exaggerated values to cranial features and draw any conclusive inferences thereupon. We find the same difficulty in India also concerning scientific evidence ; even linguistic and cultural similarities prove deceptive : and geographical conditions have to be studied with great care and caution.

S. S.

Rabindranath Tagore

BY M. VENKATESA IYENGAR

(*Mysore University Kannada Series, No. 6. Re. 1-6-0*)

THE poet Tagore has achieved a universal reputation and is a household word throughout India. It is but meet that the authorities of the Mysore University should publish a work in Kannada on the life of the Sage of Santiniketan and in their selection for an author to write on Tagore they have to be congratulated in securing the services of Mr. Masti Venkatesa Iyengar, himself a man of literary talents of no mean order, a writer, the Superintendent of Census for Mysore for 1931 and a successful administrator. The language is chaste, simple and clear and we have no doubt it will be an invaluable accession to any library and particularly to the Kannada-reading public, it is bound to be very instructive.

S. S.

The Secret of Ana'l Haqq with Notes and Introduction

BY KHAN SAHIB KHAJA KHAN

(*Hogarth Press, Madras. Rs. 2*)

THE work consists of 300 odd sayings of Shaykh Ibrahim Gazur-i-llahi translated from Persian and arranged in chapters

by Khaja Khan, himself author of several studies. These sayings are short commentaries on the esoteric teachings of some verses of the *Quran* and the translator has set before himself the task of carrying on an enlightened and liberal propaganda for a wide diffusion of the philosophical teachings of Islam and for propagating the Sufi doctrines. How God is manifest in man is well illustrated.

S. S.

The Mind-World

BY HAZRAT INAYAT KHAN

(Luzac Co., London, W. C. 1)

THIS is one of the many pamphlets intended to place the Sufi movement properly before the world. The mind-world is called Aina khana or the palace of mirrors. Beside all the idea of fate and wordly influences and heavenly influences, there is a creative power in man which works, perhaps, in varying degrees in different individuals, and it is in this aspect the Sufi finds the divine essence, the secret of mastery. God is made first and the makers are the prophets and teachers of the world, the great artists of ours. The God was made of rock, then words were given to describe Him. In His praise, they pictured His image and gave to humanity a high conception of God by making a throne for Him. For stone, they later substituted the heart of man. When this reflection of God, who is all beauty and majesty and excellence, is fully reflected in a person, then naturally he is focussed to God. And from this phenomenon, says the writer, what arises out of the heart of the worshipper is the love and light, the beauty and power which belong to God. It is therefore that one seeks God in the godly.

S. S.

Shahabad in 1812-13

BY FRANCIS BUCHANAN

(*Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna. Rs. 9*)

THESE reports are printed free of charge in the Patna Law Press of the Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Radha Krishna Jalan and contain in the present volume an account of (1) the topography and antiquities, (2) the people, (3) natural productions, (4) the state of agriculture and (5) of acts and commerce. Chapter 5 has a preface containing historical notices, referring to Rohitasva, Harischandra, Trisanku and others. Sati was common and had even extended to mahomedans. All the details are as interesting as those we are familiar with in the accounts of Francis Buchanan given relating to other parts of his journey.

S. S.

Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa

BY K. V. PUTTAPPA

(*Mysore University Kannada Series, No. 5. Re. 1-4-0*)

PUTTAPPA is a well-known Kannada writer and poet of modern times and his selection for writing on Ramakrishna is amply justified by a perusal of the work under review. Ramakrishna is a great Vedāntin of the nineteenth century belonging to the Advaita School of Hinduism and his life and teachings have been familiar all over the world, thanks to the great work of his celebrated disciple Svāmi Vivekānanda and his co-adjutors. The Ramakrishna Mission has thriving branches throughout the world and its missionaries have been carrying on the banner and holding it aloft everywhere and the authorities of the University must be congratulated in placing an authentic account of his life and times before the Kannada-reading public.

S. S.

The Mysore Tribes and Castes—Vol. I

BY L. K. ANANTAKRISHNA IYER

(University of Mysore. Rs. 15)

THE other volumes in the series have already been reviewed in these pages and we congratulate most heartily Diwan Bahadur L. K. Anantakrishna Iyer on completing the first and in many respects the most important of the four volumes on Mysore Castes and Tribes. Many of us remember the work of Edgar Thurston, C. Hayavadana Rao and K. Subba Rao regarding the ethnographical survey of Southern India and it is to Edgar Thurston we owe the several volumes relating to the social condition in these parts. The ethnographic survey of Mysore was started in 1903 with the late Diwan Bahadur H. V. Nanjundayya as Superintendent and an appreciable number of monographs were published by him and material collected for a still larger number. Exacting duties of a Secretary to the Government, Judge of the Chief Court, Member of Council and Vice-Chancellor of the Mysore University naturally interfered with the completion of this work and complexities of the problem facing an ethnologist were besides of no mean quality. After Nanjundayya's death, several years elapsed and ultimately the present writer was entrusted with the task of completing the survey and we are gratified to observe that the work has been done very satisfactorily. It may also be pointed out that Hayavadana Rao has given a short but complete account on this matter in his monumental work, the revised *Mysore Gazetteer*. For an exhaustive treatment of the subject, however, we are indebted to the series under review. The value of the work is further enhanced by a chapter on the cultural geography of Mysore written by Mr. F. J. Richards, one of the founders of the Mythic Society along with Father Tabard, its honoured President, and contributor of many interesting articles concerning several tribes in South India. Dr. Marret of Oxford and Prof. Sylvain Levi, whose recent demise we all deplore, have also written valuable introductions to the first volume. Dr. Marret regards Mr. Iyer's work as a model

of such sociological research as an Indian student can undertake for the lasting benefit and renown of India. It puts on record the characteristic habits of the very various units composing the population of an entire state and affords a remarkably clear view of its social statigraphy from top to bottom. According to Prof. S. Levi, Mysore is a typical state whose extent and population prove its political importance. Situated between two seas and near enough to either coast to be in contact with activities outside its area but yet secluded enough to have escaped the vicissitudes of the great land invasions, Mysore has remarkable advantages for a proper study of types. Doubtless, the present limits of the State form no actual guide but yet it affords sufficient opportunity and perspective. The present Maharaja, Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar, maintains with enlightened zeal the ancient tradition of the country handed on from the times of Asoka. Dr. Baron Von Eickstedt contributes Chapter I relating to the position of Mysore in India's racial history. Races originated only as a result of their natural geographical environment and races are the oldest existing somatic groups of mankind. In Mysore, as elsewhere in India, he says, in the open country, people of a progressive type have settled, fair in the north, dark in the south and in several refuge areas and in the jungle districts primitive people are living, fair in the western and dark in the eastern districts. For, central Mysore offers valuable soil for herdsmen and agriculturists and woodlands and mountain masses represent in biological respects excellent areas of refuge. The racial (somatic) facts very closely harmonise with the cultural facts and the primeval economic system that binds the race to its natural food area and to the primeval economic units, corresponding originally, entirely with racial units. Changes in the natural environment brings about corresponding changes in the distribution, even in the composition of the race. The distribution of the population and the discovery of the presence of race types have to be studied with these in view. The somatic facts available concerning the solution of the problems associated with the position and origin of the Melanids have been referred

to in the book but the problem is complex and baffling. The writer however says: "We need hardly hesitate, therefore, to associate the proto-Negroid roots of the Malids with a proto-Negritoid layer, and the Melanids with a proto-Melanesid stratum." The remaining chapters of the volume deal with caste, population, marriage and family, totemism, magic, animism, religion, fasts and festivals, funeral customs, occupation, village community, evolution of taste in dress and ornaments, food grains and dancing and an appendix concerning criminal tribes. The book is profusely illustrated and contains many diagrams illustrative of the text. We are very grateful indeed to Mr. Iyer for the splendid volumes he has placed before students of ethnology.

S. S.

Archæological Department, Cochin State
Report for 1933-34

A VERY large cow-shaped burial urn was discovered at Kāttakampall, eight miles to the N. W. of Kunnamkulam, on the border of the State and several earthen vessels and iron implements were secured. A ground plan of the prehistoric cave shows the front room and the four side rooms with cots. From a view of the cross-section and the nature of the vessels found in the cave, certain resemblances with the discoveries near the Lal-Bagh, Bangalore, suggest themselves to us. We would however like to recommend to the Cochin authorities to study the objects found at Bangalore. The mural paintings of Tiruvanchikulam were traced and reproduced : they are two centuries old.

S. S.

Manual of Zen Buddhism

(*The Ataka Buddhist Library VIII. The Eastern Buddhist Society, Kyoto*)

IN this book, the author, Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki, informs the reader of the various literary materials relating to the monastery life. The first chapter consists of *gāthās* or hymns and prayers,

In the second are given the *dhāranis* which are considered to hold in them magical power and are sung at rituals to keep away the evil spirits that interfere with the spiritual effect of the rituals. These *dhāranis* consist either of invocations that appeal to the higher powers or exclamations that frighten away the evil spirits. The *sūtras* which form the subject-matter of the third chapter are full of deep thought and throw much light on the teachings of the Mahāyāna School in general and of Zen School in particular. It is well known that while Southern Buddhism (*Hinayāna*) advocates the doctrine of Transiency (*Ksanikavāda*), Northern Buddhism (*Mahāyāna*) upholds the doctrine of Emptiness (*Sūnyavāda*). But this emptiness does not mean relativity or phenomenality or nothingness. It rather means the Absolute or something of transcendental nature. When Zen Buddhists declare all things to be empty, they do not advocate a nihilistic view. On the contrary, they hint at an ultimate reality which cannot be subserved under the categories of logic. The fourth chapter contains the sayings and sermons of the Zen masters. Life is suffering (*dukkha*), because of the accumulation (*samudāya*) of evil Karma. The cause of suffering can be annihilated (*nirodha*) and for this, there is the path (*mārga*). *Nirvāṇa* is the highest truth and the form of existence, while *samsāra* (birth and death) is a world of particulars, governed by Karma and causation. The fifth and last chapter gives an idea of the various Buddhist figures enshrined in the different parts of a Zen monastery. The shaven head and the dyed garment of the monks are the noble symbols of the Bodhisattvahood ; and the gourd is a symbol of *sūnyatā*. The temple-buildings with all their ornamented fixtures are the honorific emblems of Buddhist virtue. Śākyamuni (Buddha) occupies the main seat of honour on the Zen altar. He is sometimes attended by a pair of Bodhisattvas and another of Arhats. The Bodhisattvas (Manjuśri and Samantabhadra) symbolise wisdom and love, the two ruling attributes of the highest reality. Śākyamuni is Vairocana standing above the world of transmigration. The Arhats (Ānanda and Kāsyapa) stand for learning and life.

and the Sākyamuni for the unifying body in which experience and intellection find their field of harmonious co-operation. The book enables the reader to know what the Zen monk reads in his daily services, where his thoughts move and what objects of worship he has.

N. I.

Tibetan Yoga and Secret Doctrines

EDITED BY W. Y. EVANS-WENTZ

(Oxford University Press, London, 1935. Price, 16s. net)

YOGA is an efficient and scientific method of bringing about the development of man's triune nature by means of mental control. The path of Yōga is not, therefore, a single one; but one of many paths, all leading to the one goal. The book contains the texts of the principal Yōgas which many of the illustrious Tibetan and Indian Yōgins employ in attaining right Knowledge. Speaking of Samādhi Yōga the text (Book II), says : All doors of perception are closed. There is complete oblivion of the material universe of phenomena. The mind attains its own natural condition of absolute tranquillity. The microcosmic mind becomes attuned to the macrocosmic mind. Thereby is attained the Knowledge that in the true state, there are no seeing or seer ; that all finite concepts are really non-existent ; that all dualities become unities and that there is but one reality. As regards *prāṇayāma* the text (Book III) says : The thought-process and the breathing process are interdependent and the control of the latter gives control over the former. When the breathing has been rhythmically regulated, the arising and passing away of thoughts will be found to have become attuned to its rhythm. Regarding psychic heat (*prāṇa*) the text says, by the yogically-regulated breathing process, the psychic force (*prāṇa*) is made to enter the median nerve (*susumnanādi*) and its capillaries and stores in the centres (*cakras*) of the psychic-nerve system. The *prāṇa* retained in right (*pingala*) and left (*idā*) psychic nerves (*nādis*) after an expiration and that brought into them by an inspiration unite and enter the median nerve (*susumna-nādi*) as transmuted vital force in the form of one body of

vitality. The rousing of the Kundalini is explained thus. With the awakening of Saturn force which is the afflorescence or complement of the virtues of the moon (*idā*) and sun (*pingala*) forces (*prāṇa*) and of which median-nerve (*susumna-nādi*) is the channel, the climax of the supernormal experiences, resulting from producing psychic heat, is attained. The Buddhist doctrine of consciousness transference (Book IV) is similar to the Hindu doctrine, of *parakāya-pravesa* and that of subduing the lower self (Book V) to *aghamarṣana* of the Hindus. The hum of the Buddhist is like the *Om* of the Hindus most potential. These *bijas* when properly intoned are said to convey psychic influences in the form of gift-waves. The doctrine of Voidness (Book VII) is a restating of the doctrine of *Māya*. In terms of *Sūnyatā*, the sole reality is mind and mind is the cosmos, matter being but the crystallization of thought. The universe is merely the materialization of thought forms—the idea which illusorily appears as objects of nature. The author has placed in this book not only a cateria of translations of texts but also a body of orally-transmitted traditions and teachings which he received from his Tibetan guru, the late Lāma Kazi Dawa Sampud. The letter-press and the get-up leave nothing to be desired. No student of Northern Buddhism can ignore this useful book.

N. I.

An Introduction to Zen Buddhism

(*The Ataka Buddhist Library VII. Published by the Eastern Buddhist Society, Kyoto*)

THE book is a reprint of the articles written by the author Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki for the *New East* sketching the outline of Zen teaching. Zen strongly and persistently insists on an inner spiritual experience and gives the method of attaining spiritual enlightenment as follows. Look into your own being and seek it not through others. Your own mind is above all forms ; it is free and quiet and sufficient ; it eternally stamps itself in your six senses and four elements. In its light, all is

absorbed. Hush the dualism of subject and object; forget both; transcend the intellect; sever yourself from the understanding and directly penetrate deep into the identity of the Buddha-mind. Outside of this, there are no realities. The book thus amply serves its purpose.

N. I.

The Mahabharata
(Southern Recension)

EDITED BY P. P. S. SASTRI

(Vol. XVI—*Anusāsana Parvan, Part I.* V. Ramaswamy
Sastrulu and Sons, Madras)

THE book under review is the first of the two volumes of the *Anusāsana Parvan* and deals with Chapters 1-78. The Editor has used, in its preparation for the press, the manuscripts belonging to Brahmasri Krishna Sastrigal, Palace Pauranikar, Trivandrum; H. H. the Maharaja of Travancore; the Adyar Library, Madras and Mr. Natesa Iyer of Tinnevelly. This parvan is noteworthy as it holds both Śiva and Vishnu in equally high esteem and enumerates their thousand names.

N. I.

EDITORIAL

BY the death of His Majesty King George V the British Empire and the world have lost a great king, a great gentleman and a great lover of world peace. We tender our respectful sympathies to Her Majesty Queen Mary, His Majesty King Edward VIII and the royal family.

* * *

His Majesty King Edward VIII succeeds to the throne of his ancestors and is the heir to a great name and a great example. His wisdom is manifest by the determination to which he has given expression that he would walk in the footsteps of his great father.

* * *

It is a matter for great satisfaction that the All-India Oriental Conference should have been invited to hold its Eighth Session at Mysore. The Conference was held during the last week of December and was largely attended by delegates from all parts of India and elsewhere. A large number of papers were contributed to the various sections of the Conference. An exhibition was held and excursions to places of historical and antiquarian interest in the State were arranged. The organisers deserve to be highly congratulated for the excellent arrangements made.

* * *

In a brief communication to the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (March 1936) Mr. G. V. Bobrinskoy of the University of Chicago, attempts to show that the characters of a line of script in a contract tablet from Babylon, recording the sale of a slave girl dated in the 23rd year of Artaxerxes may be Brāhmi. He infers from the position of the line that it contains the names of a witness to the transaction. It will be remembered that the tablet was published by Theo. G. Pinches in the *P. S. B. A.*, 1882-83 and the tablet is now in the British Museum. A photograph of the plate is also published in the Journal. The writer is convinced that we have

here some kind of a Brāhmi script, even though differing considerably from the type of the Asokan inscriptions ; and he tries to account for these differences by the early date of the tablet. It will be interesting to know what other palæo-graphists have to say.

* * *

A very interesting article in the *J. A. S. B.* (Letters : Vol. I, No. 3) by Mr. K. P. Chattpadhyay pertains to the history of Indian Social Organisation. The earliest references to castes are to be found in the *Institutes of Manu*. Notable among the early workers in the field may be mentioned the names of Ibberton and Nesfield, Risley and Sénart and lastly Dr. Hutton who has recently put forward his views of the origin of the caste system in India in the latest Census of India Report. The author of the present article discusses the standpoint of the several writers and advances certain conclusions of his own. It is his view that there were not two but three sets of cultured people—the fisher-folk, the metal-folk and the dairy-men—who contended for mastery in India and built up caste organisation.

* * *

The Diamond Jubilee of the reign of His Highness Maharaja Gackwar of Baroda who is a Vice-Patron of the Society was celebrated with great rejoicing in January last. His Highness is a ruler who is worthy of the greatest honour. During the sixty years of his reign, Baroda has advanced in every direction and is to-day one of the foremost States in India. His Highness is a great humanitarian and scholar. He was the Honorary President of the First Parliament of Religions held at Chicago during the recent World Fair held there where he delivered the opening address. We extend our most respectful felicitations to His Highness on the completion of the memorable sixty years of rule and pray that he may long be spared to guide his country and continue to be a great support to the cause of Oriental learning which he has always been.

* * *

Our most hearty congratulations are due to Amin-ul-Mulk Sir Mirza M. Ismail, Dewan of Mysore and Vice-President of the Society on his becoming the distinguished recipient of the title of K.C.I.E. which he so richly deserves.

* * *

Rao Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, formerly Head of the Department of History and Archaeology in the University of Madras, a well-known scholar of Indian History and one of the Founders of the Mythic Society, completed sixty-five years of age and the sixty-sixth birthday was fittingly celebrated at Madras on the 15th April 1936. A commemoration volume containing essays from scholars from all parts of India and elsewhere was presented to him on that occasion. The Mythic Society was represented on the occasion by its Secretary Mr. S. Srikantaya who was one of the speakers. We extend our hearty congratulations to Dr. Aiyangar on his elevation to the title of Diwan Bahadur in the Brithday Honours and wish him many more years of useful service.

* * *

We heartily welcome into the field of research Journalism a new publication from Poona under the title *The Poona Orientalist* with Vidyāsudhākara Dr. H. D. Sharma as its editor. The first quarterly number which has just been issued contains some very interesting articles and the first instalment of the text and English translation of *Nyāyasūtras* of Gautama by Dr. Ganganath Jha. We trust it will have the hearty support of Orientalists and wish the Journal a long and useful life.

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"A book that is shut is but a block."

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